THE LIFE

Of the Most Reverend

Dr. *JOHN TILLOTSON*,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Compiled chiefly from

HIS ORIGINAL PAPERS

AND

LETTERS.

By *THOMAS BIRCH*, M. A.
Rector of the United Parishes of *St. Margaret Pattens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch*, and Secretary to the Royal Society.

LONDON:
Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, R. Ware, J. and P. Knapton, S. Birt, T. Longman, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. Hodges, A. Millar, J. and J. Rivington, J. Ward, W. Johnson, C. Corbet, and M. Cooper.

M.DCC.LII.

1899
4





To the Moſt Reverend,

HIS GRACE,

THOMAS,

Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury,*

Primate and Metropolitan of all *England.*

MY LORD,

THE preſent attempt to do juſtice to the memory of one of the moſt amiable, as well as eminent, of your predeceſſors, owes ſo much to your Grace's communication and aſſiſtance, that I ſhall alledge no excuſe for this public offer of it, tho' the performance itſelf may require one.

The numerous readers, who have received the moſt uſeful entertain-

ment and inſtruction from his writings, to which our language is equally oblig'd with our common Chriſtianity, have long regretted, that ſo many ſucceſſive editions ſhould have paſs'd the preſs without the uſual reſpect paid to inferior writers, of ſome previous account of one, whoſe hiſtory would afford ample ſubject both for curioſity and example.

It was with a juſt diffidence, that I undertook this work, unwilling to obtrude again upon the world, in any difference of form, ſuch facts only, as it was already poſſeſs'd of. But your Grace's favour encourag'd my proſecution of it, by opening to me that valuable treaſure of manuſcripts in your palace at *Lambeth*, which I had been indulg'd in the uſe of upon other occaſions. There I ſoon met with a volume in Archbiſhop

biſhop TILLOTSON's own hand-writing, containing, beſides remarks made in the courſe of his reading, his deſigns for the further defence, illuſtration, and inforcement of our holy religion, and draughts of ſeveral papers and letters, that may ſtill raiſe him higher in the public opinion. Theſe his modeſty had conceal'd in his own ſecret characters: But having been decypher'd for me by a very worthy friend of mine *, whoſe reverence for the writer, and ſatisfaction in unlocking his ſentiments, ſoften'd the labour of the taſk, they are now incorporated with ſuch other collections, as my own reſearches, and thoſe of my friends, could procure.

And where could the reſult of the whole be preſented with ſo much propriety, independently of my own obliga-

* The late Mr. PHILIP GIBBS, author of *An hiſtorical account of compendious and ſwift writing*, and of an *Eſſay towards a farther improvement of ſhort-hand.*

obligations, as to the patronage of a ſucceſſor of this illuſtrious Archbiſhop, reſembling him in many reſpects more important than that of filling the ſame See; eminence in the great office of a Chriſtian preacher; condeſcenſion and affability reconciling inferiors to elevation of rank, without detracting from its dignity; humanity and generoſity unreſtrain'd by the parties and diſtinctions of mankind; moderation of temper and principles moſt friendly to the true intereſts of the eſtabliſh'd church; and a known reluctance to accepting the firſt ſtation in it, with this peculiar circumſtance of having before ſhewn the higheſt qualifications for it, by a conduct in the ſecond, from which the public ſafety receiv'd its earlieſt ſupport at its moſt dangerous criſis?

But the concurrent ſentiments of the nation anticipate me upon theſe obvious topics; nor ſhall I attempt any thing farther, than to expreſs my own gratitude, and the high eſteem and veneration, with which I am,

BRITISH MUSEUM

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's

moſt dutiful, moſt oblig'd, and

moſt obedient humble ſervant,

THO. BIRCH.

ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS.

Page 23. *Note* (t) for *reperitorium*, read *repertorium*. *p.* 34. *l.* 16. for *collated*, read *preſented*. *p.* 37. *l.* 24. dele the ſecond *the*. *p.* 40. *l. ult.* 164. *l.* 18. to the paſſage, aſſerting his reſignation of his reſidentiaryſhip, add the following note in the margin. The words of Biſhop BURNET's funeral ſermon, *p.* 20. upon which I grounded this aſſertion of Dr. TILLOTSON's reſigning his reſidentiaryſhip, are as follow: "All, that he deſired upon this happy revolu-" tion, was ſuch a change, as did conſiderably leſſen his income, but deli-" vered him from the invidious load of having two dignities:" Which paſſage Mr. BEARDMORE in his *Memorials*, *p.* cxv. ſeems to have underſtood in the ſame ſenſe with myſelf. But I have ſince found by conſulting the regiſter-books of the cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, that Dr. TILLOTSON did not reſign his reſidentiaryſhip in that church, when he was choſen Dean; both thoſe preferments being probably conſider'd by him as one, and appearing to be of leſs value at that time than the Deanery of *Canterbury* with the Reſidentiaryſhip of St. *Paul*'s, eſpecially when there were taken into the eſtimate the fees of admiſſion into the new dignity, the firſt fruits, the expence of fitting up and furniſhing the Deanery-houſe, and the advanc'd age of the Dean, with an apoplectic fit, which he had ſuffer'd. And what Biſhop BURNET obſerves, is certain, that he conſiderably leſſen'd his income by the exchange, ſince during the two years of his holding the Deanery of St. *Paul*'s, he had only one fine, and that a ſmall one; whereas the fines are uſually one third of the income. *p.* 49. *l.* 16. for 1697, read 1691. *ibid. l.* 18. after *dedication* add *by*. *p.* 66. *l.* 16. after *inſiſted upon* add *it*. *p.* 75. *l.* 6. after *penitent* add *thief*. *p.* 77. *l.* 16. for *collated*, read *preſented*. *p.* 84. *l.* 18. inſtead of *and elected*, read *having been on the* 30*th of* November *elected*. *p.* 95. *l.* 17. before *mere* inſert *the*. *p.* 96. *l.* 25. after *antient* inſert *and*. *p.* 105. *l.* 8. for 1583, read 1683. *p.* 130. *l.* 13. for *proſecution*, read *perſecution*. *p.* 143. *Note* (f) *l.* 10. for *vires*, read *viris*. *p.* 149. *Note* (i) for *veſipellis*, read *verſipellis*. *p.* 150. *l.* 8. for 1722, read 1721. *p.* 156. *l.* 28. for *this*, read *his*. *p.* 160. *Note* (w) *l.* 7. for *convendationem*, read *emendationem*. *p.* 166. *l.* 22. after *more* inſert *perfect*. *p.* 191. *l.* 17. to the words, *received ſome* Scots *Preſbyters into the church*, add a *, and the following note in the margin. * That Primate of *Ireland*, as appears from his *Life* written by JOHN Biſhop of *Limerick*, and prefix'd to his Grace's *works* printed at *Dublin* in 1677 in folio, inſerted theſe words in the letters of orders, which he gave to Mr. EDWARD PARKINSON: *Non annihilantes priores ordines (ſi quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundum determinantes, multò minus omnes ordines ſacros Eccleſiarum forinſecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judicî relinquimus, ſed ſolummodo ſupplentes quicquid priùs defuit per Canones Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ requiſitum, & providentes paci Eccleſiæ, ut Schiſmatis tollatur occaſio, & conſcientiis fidelium ſatisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus ſuos Preſbyteriales tanquam invalidos averſentur. In cujus rei teſtimonium*, &c. *p.* 221. *Note* (d) *l.* 8. dele *and*. *p.* 222. *l.* 5. for *words at*, read *good words to*. *p.* 225. *l.* 6. for *know*, read *knew*. *p.* 227. *l.* 11. for *nation*, read *notion*, dele Note (g). *p.* 231. *l.* 5. dele *with*. *p.* 253. *l.* 20. for *expetitium*, read *expetitum*. *p.* 255. *l.* 25. after *admodum* inſert *reverendo*. *ibid. l.* 30. for *reſierem*, read *reſicerem*. *p.* 257. *l.* 30. for *paſtorale*, read *paſtorali*. *p.* 304. *l.* 26. for *reporting*, read *retracting*. *p.* 306. *l.* 21. for 1692, read 1693. *p.* 317. *l.* 11. for *changes*, read *charges*. *p.* 328. *l.* 34. for *rectory*, read *vicarage*. *p.* 332. *l.* 23. for *before*, read *between*. *p.* 334. *l.* 9. for *the took*, read *he took*. *p.* 367. *l.* 27. for *kndneſs*, read *kindneſs*. *p.* 378. *l.* 26. after the words *the ſame ſubject*, inſert, intitled, *A plain repreſentation of Tranſubſtantiation, as it is received in the church of* Rome, *with the ſandy foundation it is built upon, and the arguments, which do clearly avert and overturn it*, written, *&c.* *p.* 379. *l.* 10. for *inſciâ*, read *inſitâ* *p.* 415. *l.* 28, 29. for *homilitical*, read *homiletical*. *p.* 425. *l.* 17. for *rely*, read *roll*, and add this note in the margin: This was a favourite expreſſion of many of the old puritans, founded probably on the marginal tranſlation of Pſalm xxii. 8. and xxxvii. 5. *p.* 439. *l.* 11. for *more a*, read *a mere*. Index, article NELSON, for (*John*), read *Robert*.

THE LIFE, &c.

DR. JOHN TILLOTSON, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was deſcended of a family antiently of the name of TILSTON of *Tilſton* in *Cheſhire*, the anceſtor of which was NICOLAS DE TILSTON, lord of the manor of *Tilſton*, from whom deſcended NICOLAS DE TILSTON in the ninth year of King EDWARD III, whoſe grandſon and heir ROGER TILSTON, Eſq; in the reign of HENRY V. married CATHARINE ſecond daughter of Sir JOHN LEIGH, of *Baguly* in *Cheſhire*, Knt. His ſon and heir THOMAS TILSTON married ELIZABETH daughter and heireſs of HUGH HEATH of *Huxley*, in the ſame county, as RICHARD the ſecond ſon of this THOMAS did MAUD daughter of RICHARD BOSTOCK, by whom he had ſeveral ſons, of whom the third, RALPH, of *Newport* in *Shropſhire*, married ELIZABETH ſecond daughter of WILLIAM LEIGHTON, ſecond ſon of Sir THOMAS LEIGHTON of *Watleſborough*, in the ſame county, Knt. The third ſon of this RALPH was THOMAS, of *Wookliff* in the pariſh of *Carlton* in *Craven* in the county of *York*, who chang'd his name from TILSTON to TILLOTSON. His ſon GEORGE TILLOTSON had by his wife ELEANOR, daughter of ELLIS NUTTER of *Pendle Foreſt* in *Lancaſhire*, a ſon and heir, ROBERT, the father of the Archbiſhop *, who was the eldeſt of three ſons,

* From the genealogy of the family of TILSTON or TILLOTSON drawn up in the year 1682, compar'd with one in the office of heralds, and communicated to me by the Rev. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, M. A. the worthy and learned ſurmaſter

ſons, JOSHUA and ISRAEL being the younger; and was born of parents more diſtinguiſh'd by their integrity and piety, than their rank and fortune [b]. His father, Mr. ROBERT TILLOTSON, was a conſiderable Clothier of *Sowerby* in the pariſh of *Halliſax*, in the county of *York*, and remarkable for a good underſtanding, and an uncommon knowledge of the Scriptures; but ſo zealouſly attach'd to the ſyſtem of CALVIN, which was almoſt univerſally receiv'd in that age, that his prejudices in favour of it were ſcarce to be moderated by all the reaſonings of his ſon, whom he liv'd to ſee Dean of *Canterbury*, being, as appears from a letter of the Dean [c], alive in *May* 1679. His mother was MARY, the daughter of THOMAS DOBSON, of the ſame place, Gentleman [d], a woman of excellent character, but unhappy for many years of her life in the loſs of her underſtanding [e]. He was born at a houſe call'd *Haugh-End*, in *Sowerby*, in the latter end of *September*, or beginning of *October* 1630, and baptiz'd there on the third of *October*; one of his godfathers being Mr. JOSHUA WITTON, a native of *Sowerby*, afterwards Rector of *Thornhill*, in

of St. *Paul*'s ſchool, *London*, and great nephew of the Archbiſhop, being grandſon of his brother ISRAEL.

[b] *Prayers before his conſecration.* [c] Directed to his couſin Mr. TIMOTHY BENTLEY, of *Sowerby-Dean*, and communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. TILLOTSON.

[d] Life of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, p. 4. edit. *London*, 1717, fol. This piece, of which there is alſo an edition in 8vo, is pretended, in the title-page, to have been *compil'd from the minutes of the Rev. Mr.* YOUNG, *late Dean of* Saliſbury, *by* F. H. *M. A. with many curious memoirs, communicated by the late Right Rev.* GILBERT, *Lord Biſhop of* Sarum. Biſhop KENNET, in the IIId vol. of the *Complete hiſtory of* England, *p.* 673, note (*b*), ſecond edition, obſerves, that "ſome perſons had reaſon to believe, that *Biſhop* BURNET and *Dean* YOUNG had little or no hand in that life:" and both the performance itſelf, and the name of the bookſeller, E. CURLL, will confirm that ſuſpicion.

[e] Prayers, *ubi ſupra.*

in the ſame county, from which he was ejected in 1662, for Nonconformity [f]. His enemies indeed in the reign of CHARLES II. rais'd a ſtory, reviv'd after his promotion to the See of *Canterbury*, alluded to by himſelf in a letter to Lady RUSSEL in 1693, and ſaid by Dr. HICKES [g] to have taken its riſe from his father's very early turning Anabaptiſt, that he was never baptiz'd at all. And Dr. PETER BIRCH, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, who, tho' himſelf educated in the Preſbyterian principles [h], affected to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his zeal for the church, is ſuppos'd to have meant our Prelate, in his ſermon before the Houſe of Commons, on the 30th of *January* 169$\frac{3}{4}$, where [i] he complain'd of *fathers of the church, who never were her ſons*. But his baptiſm, on the day above-mention'd, is inconteſtably prov'd by the pariſh regiſter, a certificate of which was atteſted by Mr. JOSEPH WILKINSON, Vicar of *Halifax*, and Jo. GAUKROGER, Clerk of that pariſh.

His father, out of a ſmall eſtate, gave him ſo liberal an education, as became the foundation of that eminence of character and ſtation, which he afterwards attain'd, and enabled him to return to his parents, and their children, the kindneſs, which he had receiv'd from him, and to ſhew himſelf a father to them [k].

After he had, with a quick proficiency, paſs'd thro' the Grammar ſchools, and attain'd a ſkill in the learned languages ſuperior to his years, he was ſent to *Cambridge*, in the year 1647, at the age of ſeven-

[f] Dr. CALAMY's Account, *vol. II. p.* 795. *ſecond edit.* 1713. and Continuation, p. 942.

[g] Some diſcourſes upon Dr BURNET and Dr. TILLOTSON, occaſion'd by the late funeral ſermon of the former upon the latter, p 62. edit. *London*, 1695, in 4to.

[h] WOOD. Athen. Oxon. *vol II. col.* 1060. *ſecond edit.*

[i] *P.* 20.

[k] Prayers, *ubi ſupra.*

ſeventeen, and admitted Penſioner of *Clare-Hall*, on the 23d of *April*, that year, and into the matricula of that univerſity on the firſt of *July* following, where he commenc'd Bachelor of arts at *Midſummer* 1650, and maſter of arts in 1654, having been choſen Fellow of his college about the 27th of *November* 1651. His tutor, in whoſe fellowſhip he ſucceeded, was Mr. DAVID CLARKSON, B. D. eminent for his writings, particularly one intitled, *No evidence of Dioceſan epiſcopacy in the primitive times*, printed in 1681, in 4to. in anſwer to Dr. STILLINGFLEET, and another on the ſame ſubject, printed two years after his death, which happen'd on the 14th of *June* 1686 [l], under the title of *Primitive epiſcopacy*, anſwer'd by Dr. HENRY MAURICE in 1691, in his *Defence of Dioceſan epiſcopacy*. Mr. CLARKSON was, according to Mr. BAXTER [m], "a Divine of extraordi-"nary worth for ſolid judgment, healing mode-"rate principles, acquaintance with the fathers, "great miniſterial abilities, and a godly upright "life." But his attachment to the principles of the Nonconformiſts depriv'd him of the living of *Mortlack*, in *Surry*, in *Auguſt* 1662. However, his excellent pupil always preſerv'd that ſingular reſpect for him, which he had contracted while he was under his tuition [n]; as he did his early friendſhip for two other eminent Nonconformiſt miniſters, Mr. FRANCIS HOLDCRAFT, who had been his chamber-fellow at *Clare-Hall* [o], and Mr. THOMAS SHARP, couſin of the Archbiſhop of that name, who had been his pupil, and was nephew of Mr. CLARKSON, his own tutor [p].

Thus

[l] A ſhort character of that excellent Divine Mr. DAVID CLARKSON, *printed without the name of place or year.*
[m] Reliquiæ BAXTERIANÆ, *part III. p.* 97.
[n] Dr. CALAMY's Account, *p.* 667.
[o] Ibid. *p.* 86. [p] Ibid. *p.* 813.

Thus his firſt education and impreſſions were among thoſe, who were then called *Puritans*, but of the beſt ſort. And yet, even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt ſomewhat within him, that diſpoſed him to larger notions, and a better temper. The books, which were put into the hands of the youth at that time, being generally heavy, he could ſcarce bear them, even before he knew better things. But he ſoon met with the immortal work of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH [q], a writer whom he ſtiles [r] *incomparable, and the glory of his age and nation*, tho' ſtigmatiz'd, as he obſerves, with the character of a *Socinian*, for no *other cauſe, but his worthy and ſucceſsful attempts to make the Chriſtian religion reaſonable, and to diſcover thoſe firm and ſolid foundations, upon which our faith is built.* This admirable book gave his mind the ply, that it held ever after, and put him upon a true ſcent. He was ſoon freed from his firſt prejudices, or rather he was never maſtered by them. Yet he ſtill adher'd to that ſtrictneſs of life, to which he was bred, and retained a juſt value and due tenderneſs for the men of that perſuaſion; and by the ſtrength of his reaſon, together with the clearneſs of his principles, brought over more ſerious perſons from their ſcruples to the communion of the church of *England*, and fix'd more in it, than any man perhaps of that time. But he neither treated them with contempt or hatred; and he diſliked all levities and railings upon thoſe ſubjects. This gave him great advantages in dealing with them, and he ſtill

[q] A ſermon preach'd at the funeral of Dr. TILLOTSON, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by Dr. BURNET, Biſhop of *Sarum*, *p.* 10, 11. *edit. London*, 1694, *in* 4*to.* [r] Sermon on Hebr. xi. 6. intitled, *The efficacy, uſefulneſs, and reaſonableneſs of divine faith.*

ſtill perſiſted in it, how much ſoever he was either diſliked or ſuſpected by angry men.

As he got into a new method of ſtudy, ſo he entered into friendſhips with ſome great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. There was then a ſet of as extraordinary perſons in the univerſity, where he was form'd, as perhaps any age has produc'd; Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, Maſter of *Chriſt's College*; Dr. BENJAMIN WHICHCOT, Provoſt of *King's*; Dr. HENRY MORE, and Dr. GEORGE RUST, Fellows of *Chriſt's*, and the latter afterwards Biſhop of *Dromore* in *Ireland*; Dr. JOHN WORTHINGTON, Maſter of *Jeſus*; and Mr. JOHN SMITH, Fellow of *Queen's College*, author of the *Select diſcourſes*, leſs known at preſent, than the ſenſe and profound learning ſhewn in them deſerve. Theſe eminent men were equally admirable for the clearneſs and comprehenſion of their thoughts, the extent of their knowledge, and the excellence of their tempers. But that, which gave him his laſt finiſhing, was his cloſe and long friendſhip with Dr. JOHN WILKINS, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*. He went into all the beſt things, that were in that great man, but ſo, that he perfected every one of them. For though Biſhop WILKINS had more general knowledge, yet Dr. TILLOTSON was the greater Divine; and if the former had more flame, the latter was more correct. Both acted with great plainneſs, and were raiſed above regarding vulgar cenſures. And as Biſhop WILKINS had a talent ſo peculiar to himſelf, that perhaps never any man could admoniſh and reprove with ſuch weight and authority, and in a way ſo obliging as he did; ſo no man knew better than this his great friend the art of gaining upon mens hearts, and of making

making themſelves find out that, which might be amiſs in them; tho' the gentleneſs and modeſty of his temper had not ſo well fitted him for the rough work of reproving [s].

But inoffenſive as his behaviour was during his reſidence in the univerſity, in times of violence, and irreconcilable oppoſition both of political and religious ſentiments, it has been particularly attack'd by Dr. GEORGE HICKES in a pamphlet, full of ſuch virulence againſt our great Prelate's memory, as does no honour to the writer's own, and deſerves to be treated with more ſeverity of expreſſion, than I ſhould chooſe to uſe concerning a man, to whoſe learning, eſpecially in the northern languages and antiquities, the world is highly oblig'd. In this piece [t], among other unauthorized and improbable invectives, having repreſented Mr. TILLOTSON *as ſeaſon'd with the principles of reſiſtance and rebellion*, when he was firſt enter'd at *Cambridge*; he affirms, that not long after his coming thither, when King CHARLES I. was brought by that town to *Hampton-Court*, and lodg'd near it at Sir JOHN CUTTS's houſe at *Childerley*, and the ſcholars went thither to kiſs his Majeſty's hands, Mr. TILLOTSON, and ſome few more, had ſo ſignalized themſelves on the ſide of thoſe, who were then call'd *Roundheads*, that they were not admitted to that honour with the reſt of the ſcholars. Dr. HICKES adds, that within two years after Mr. TILLOTSON went out *Midſummer Bachelor of arts*, by which having locally qualified himſelf for a Fellowſhip, "he got the "*Rump's mandamus* for Dr. GUNNING's, (which,

[s] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 11, 12.
[t] *Some diſcourſes*, &c. *p.* 62.

" I think, *ſays Dr.* HICKES, one of his own " gang enjoyed a little before him) as a reward " for his good affection to the *cauſe.*" That from that time, to his leaving the college, he governed it, the ſenior fellows not daring to oppoſe him, becauſe of the intereſt, which he had with his great maſters: and that he was ſo zealous for them, that the corner of the college, which he and his pupils took up in the new building, was called the *Roundhead* corner. And that when King CHARLES II. was defeated at *Worceſter*, he ſent for the tables, in which the college grace was written, and after the paſſage of thankſgiving for their benefactors, *Te laudamus pro benefactoribus noſtris*, &c. he added with his own hand, and of his own head, *præſertim pro nupera victoriâ contra* CAROLUM STUARTUM *in agro Wigornienſi reportatâ*, or to that effect.

The grounds of theſe charges being examin'd by the members of that college, immediately after the publication of the libel, they were found to be abſolutely falſe[u]; and the following remarks will be ſufficient to deſtroy their credit. Mr. TILLOTSON was not enter'd of the college till *April* 23, 1647; and therefore it is not at all ſurprizing, if ſo young a ſtudent was not admitted to the honour of kiſſing the King's hand, when his Majeſty was in that neighbourhood in the beginning of *June* following[w]. He took the degree of Bachelor of arts at *Midſummer*, 1650, and became Fellow of the college *November*

[u] Biſhop BURNET's Reflections upon a pamphlet intitled, *Some diſcourſes*, &c. *p.* 164, 165, 166. *edit. London*, 1696.

[w] WHITELOCKE's Memorials, *p.* 252. *ſecond edit.* Biſhop BURNET ſays, by miſtake, *two months* after Mr. TILLOTSON's admiſſion.

ber 27. the year following [x]: whereas Mr. GUNNING was ejected from his Fellowſhip ſix years before, by warrant from the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and ſucceeded in it by Mr. CLARKSON, *May* 5, 1645 [y]; ſo that it cannot, with any propriety, be ſaid, that Mr. TILLOTSON came into Mr. GUNNING's fellowſhip. For though men, as Biſhop BURNET obſerves [z], may conſider the avoidance, that immediately preceded their own admiſſion, yet none are ſo ſcrupulous, as to purſue the inquiry farther.

With reſpect to his aſſuming the liberty of altering the college grace after meat, and adding a ſpecial mention of the battle of *Worceſter*, there was not the leaſt memory of any ſuch incident in the college in the year 1696, when the inquiry was made. And it is highly improbable, that a junior Fellow, and ſo young a Bachelor of arts, could have preſumed to have done ſuch a thing; or that the Maſter and ſenior Fellows would have ſuffered it. Dr. BLYTHE, Maſter of the college, and Dr. VINCENT, ſenior Fellow, when Biſhop BURNET wrote his *Reflections* on Dr. HICKES's *diſcourſes*, had been admitted of *Clare-Hall* ſoon after the date of that ſtory: but neither of them ever heard of any thing of that nature; which is ſcarce poſſible, if the ſtory had been true, conſidering the genius of ſuch ſocieties, where the memory of incidents of that kind is not eaſily loſt. And it is further remarkable, that there was not the leaſt mention of it in the year 1660, when, as is uſual in the revolutions of public affairs, all ſuch ſtories were induſtriouſly

[x] Biſhop BURNET ſays erroneouſly *before Chriſtmas that year*, viz. 1650.

[y] LE NEVE, *ubi ſupra*, *p.* 222. [z] *Reflections*, *p.* 165.

ouſly remember'd and propagated, and made uſe of to fix the characters of men. On the other hand, Mr. TILLOTSON was, as long as Dr. BLYTHE and Dr. VINCENT could remember him, the ſame modeſt and good-natur'd man, that he was known to be in a higher elevation. To this vindication of his behaviour, while he was reſident in the univerſity, may be added the ſubſtance of a letter from Mr. DENTON of *Clare-Hall*, to one of his friends [a], who had applied to him for that purpoſe; in which he remarks, that he had found out two perſons, beſides himſelf, who were in *Clare-Hall* that ſummer, in which *Worceſter*-fight happen'd, *viz.* Sir WATKINSON PAYLER, who was nobleman, and Mr. JAMES MOUNTAIGNE, who was Fellow of the college; and if there had been any ſuch alteration made in the college grace, ſome of them, who daily heard it read, would have known it: whereas all three of them profeſs'd, that they never knew or heard of any ſuch thing done, or attempted to be done, but believ'd it to be *a malicious lie.* Mr. DENTON, who was in the college when King CHARLES I. paſs'd by *Cambridge*, had forgotten, whether Mr. TILLOTSON went to Sir JOHN CUTTS's houſe amongſt ſeveral others, who did; but was pretty confident, that the ſtory of his being denied the honour to kiſs his Majeſty's hand was not true, having never heard of any ſuch thing; which, if it had been fact, he ſhould certainly have done, if not from Mr. TILLOTSON himſelf, yet from ſome others, ſeveral of Mr. DENTON's acquaintance being there.

[a] Life of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, *p.* 6, 7. and Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. WHISTON, written by himſelf, *part I. p.* 27, 28, 29.

there. With reſpect to the charge of Mr. TILLOTSON's governing the college, and the ſenior Fellows not daring to oppoſe him, becauſe of the intereſt, which he had with his *great maſters*; Mr. DENTON declares this to be very malicious and falſe; for he was far from being of an imperious humour, and was remarkable for that ſweetneſs of temper, which he ever after retain'd, and was highly reſpected by the ſenior Fellows, who indeed, out of regard to the uncommon underſtanding and prudence conſpicuous in him, even in thoſe early years, always conſulted him about the affairs of the college. And Mr. MOUNTAIGNE, who was one of them, and had been as ſtrongly attach'd as any perſon to the intereſt of King CHARLES I, having been ſeveral years in his army, always retain'd a very great honour for Mr. TILLOTSON, and never mention'd him but in terms of high reſpect; and after the publication of Dr. HICKES's *Some diſcourſes* wrote a letter to a friend in vindication of Mr. TILLOTSON from the imputations caſt upon him in that libel, with regard to his conduct in *Clare-Hall*. This letter [b] having never yet, to my knowledge, appear'd in print, will be proper to be inſerted at length.

"SIR,

"I Do very well remember King CHARLES "the Firſt's being brought by *Cambridge* to "*Hampton-Court*, and his lodging at Sir JOHN "CUTTS's houſe; but never heard of TILLOTSONS'S

[b] Communicated to me from the papers of Dr. BURNET, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, by his ſon the honourable Sir THOMAS BURNET, Knt. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Common-pleas.

" SON's (to give him the name we then call'd " him by) either going thither, or being refus'd " to kiſs the King's hand.

" I am thoroughly perſuaded he was made " Fellow by election of the Maſter and Fellows, " and not by *mandamus*; for having been in the " King's army five years, and returning to " *Clare-Hall* in 1647, I do not remember, that " any *mandamus* was ſent to the college after " that time.

" I never heard, that the corner, where his " chamber was, was called the *Round-heads cor-* " *ner*; and he could not fill that corner with " himſelf and pupils; for three or four Fellows " beſides himſelf had their chambers there.

" And what the pamphlet adds of his send- " ing, after King CHARLES II. was beaten at " *Worceſter*, for the tables, in which the college " grace was written, and after the paſſage of " thankſgiving for their benefactors adding with " his own hand, and of his own head, *præſertim* " *pro nuperâ victoriâ contra* CAROLUM STUAR- " TUM, *&c.* it is all of it a moſt falſe and im- " pudent lie, reflecting not only upon the per- " ſon, whom he would ſcandaliſe, but upon the " whole college.

" And of the ſame nature is what the libeller " ſaith of his *governing the college*, and over- " awing the ſenior Fellows by the *intereſt he* " *had with his great maſters:* and I am much " concern'd (as the reſt of the ſenior Fellows " would have been, if they were living) to " aſſert the horrid falſity of it. I think I am " the only ſurviving of the then ſenior Fellows; " and I can truly ſay he was as reſpective and " obliging to all the ſenior Fellows, as poſſibly

" could

" could be, and was very much reſpected by " them. For my own part, I always thought " myſelf much obliged to him for his kind re- " ſpects to me, both in the college, and ſince I " left it.

" As to his being chaplain to PRIDEAUX, and " teaching of his ſon, I know nothing of it. " But if we take it for granted, I know not " how his teaching the young man his grammar " ſhould influence him into a rebellion, which " happen'd 20 or 30 years after.

" And now, by what I have written, which I " will maintain the truth of, you may ſee what " little reaſon the libeller had to ſay, that all " he related was *upon very good authority*. I " am, SIR,

" Your humble ſervant,

" JAMES MOUNTAIGNE."

Mr. TILLOTSON left his college in 1656, or the beginning of 1657, according to Dr. HICKES [c], who informs us, that he was invited by EDMUND PRIDEAUX, Eſq; of *Ford-Abbey* in *Devonſhire*, to inſtruct his ſon. This gentleman had been commiſſioner of the Great-ſeal under the Long-parliament, and was then Attorney-general to OLIVER CROMWELL, the Protector. And Dr. HICKES, who omits no circumſtance, that can even indirectly reflect upon Mr. TILLOTSON, adds, that his pupil was afterwards *in the rebellion of the Duke of* MONMOUTH in 1685. But, not to repeat Mr. MOUNTAIGNE's remark, that the conduct of Mr. PRIDEAUX, at ſo great a diſtance of time, had no real connexion with his

[c] *Some diſcourſes, p.* 63.

his tutor's inſtitution of him in the rudiments of learning; nor to inſiſt upon the impropriety of ſuch a reflection from Dr. HICKES, whoſe own brother, Mr. JOHN HICKES, a Nonconformiſt miniſter, was actually executed for that rebellion [d], as Mrs. ALICIA LISLE was for harbouring him; the charge upon that gentleman of being engag'd in it was ſo far from being well-grounded, that this alone will be ſufficient to invalidate the authority of that admir'd head of a party, in all points, in which the intereſts of it are the leaſt concern'd. For the caſe of Mr. PRIDEAUX is one of the many inſtances of the arbitrary temper of that government, which forc'd the nation into the revolution; and the true circumſtances of that caſe appear in the journal of the Houſe of Commons [e]. He was ſeiz'd and brought to *London* on the 19th of *June*, 1685. by a warrant from the Earl of SUNDERLAND, Secretary of State, dated the 13th, two days after the landing of the Duke of MONMOUTH at *Lyme*, and the ſame day, on which the account of it was brought to the court at *Whitehall*, without being admitted to an examination, which he deſired. He continued in cuſtody of a meſſenger till the 14th of *July* following, when he was diſcharg'd by *Habeas Corpus*, giving ſecurity of 10000 *l.* for his appearance the firſt day of the next term. Staying in *London* for that purpoſe, he was on the 14th of *September* again ſeiz'd by a warrant of the Earl of SUNDERLAND, and committed cloſe priſoner to the *Tower* for high-treaſon. While he was in this ſituation, a general inquiry was made by the agents

[d] General Dictionary, article of Dr. HICKES, Vol. VI. p. 156.

[e] *Vol. X. p.* 113—116.

agents of Lord JEFFRYES, advanc'd to the poſt of Lord High Chancellor on the 28th of that month, amongſt all the priſoners and condemn'd perſons in the weſt, for an accuſation againſt him; and threats and promiſes of life were employ'd to that end, that Lord frequently declaring his reſolution to hang him. The dread of this induc'd Mr. PRIDEAUX to make application to the King by ſeveral perſons; but receiving no other anſwer, than that his Majeſty had given him to the Lord Chancellor, as a reward for his ſervice in the weſt, he at laſt agreed with his Lordſhip for his pardon, after ſeven months rigorous confinement, upon the payment of 15000 *l.* Theſe facts being prov'd to the Houſe of Commons ſoon after the revolution, a bill was order'd in on the firſt of *May* 1689, to charge the manors of *Dolby-in-the-Wolds*, and *Neather-Broughton* in *Leiceſterſhire*, the eſtate of that Lord, then deceas'd, with the repayment of the fifteen thouſand pounds, and intereſt, extorted by him from Mr. PRIDEAUX.

While Mr. TILLOTSON reſided in the elder Mr. PRIDEAUX's family, he perform'd, as we are farther aſſur'd by Dr. HICKES [f], the office of Chaplain. And this is affirm'd likewiſe by Mr. HENRY WHARTON, Chaplain to Archbiſhop SANCROFT, in his manuſcript collections concerning the *Engliſh* Archbiſhops and Biſhops repoſited in the library at *Lambeth* [g]; though that learned writer is miſtaken in giving Mr. PRIDEAUX the title of *Secretary* to CROMWELL. But how long Mr. TILLOTSON liv'd with Mr. PRIDEAUX, or whether till that gentleman's deceaſe

on

[f] *Some diſcourſes, p.* 83. [g] *P.* 81.

on the 19th of *Auguſt*, 1659 [h], does not appear.

He was in *London* at the time of the death of the Protector OLIVER, on the 3d of *September*, 1658, and about a week after was preſent at a very remarkable ſcene at the palace of *Whitehall*. For happening to be there on a faſt-day of the houſhold, he went out of curioſity into the preſence chamber, where the ſolemnity was kept; and ſaw there, on the one ſide of a table, the new Protector plac'd with the reſt of his family, and on the other ſix preachers, among whom were Dr. JOHN OWEN Dean of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, Dr. THOMAS GOODWIN Preſident of *Magdalen College*, Mr. JOSEPH CARYL author of the voluminous commentary on *Job*, and Rector of *St. Magnus* in *London*, and Mr. PETER STERRY. The bold ſallies of enthuſiaſm, which Mr. TILLOTSON heard upon this occaſion, were ſufficient to diſguſt a man leſs diſpos'd to it than he was both by temper and principles. God was in a manner reproach'd with the deceas'd Protector's ſervices, and challeng'd for taking him away ſo ſoon. Dr. GOODWIN, who had pretended to aſſure them in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expir'd, that he was not to die, had now the aſſurance to ſay to God, "Thou haſt deceived us, and we "were deceived." And Mr. STERRY praying for RICHARD, us'd theſe indecent words, next to blaſphemy, "Make him the brightneſs of "the father's glory, and the expreſs image of his "perſon [i]."

The

[h] WOOD. Faſti Oxon. *vol. I. col.* 232.
[i] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own time, *vol. I. p.* 82, 83.

The time of Mr. TILLOTSON's entering into holy orders, and by whom he was ordain'd, are facts, which I have not been able to determine: but the account is certainly falſe, which repreſents him [k], as curate *ſome time before the reſtoration*, to Dr. WILKINS, in the church of *St. Lawrence Jewry*; ſince that Divine was not admitted to that Vicarage till near two years after the reſtoration, on the 11th of *April* 1662 [l], by the recommendation of his predeceſſor Dr. SETH WARD [m], then advanc'd to the Biſhopric of *Exeter*, and afterwards tranſlated to that of *Saliſbury*.

The firſt ſermon of Mr. TILLOTSON, which appear'd in print, was preach'd at the morning exerciſe at *Cripplegate* on *Matth. vii.* 12. The ſubject was, *Wherein lies that exact righteouſneſs, which is required between man and man.* It is the tenth of thoſe publiſh'd by Dr. SAMUEL ANNESLEY at *London*, in *4to.* that year, under the title of, *The morning exerciſe at* Cripplegate: *or ſeveral caſes of conſcience practically reſolved by ſundry miniſters*, September 1661. The names of the ſeveral preachers were not mention'd in that edition; but in the ſubſequent ones, particularly the fourth in 1677, that of Mr. TILLOTSON appears among the reſt. This ſermon was never reprinted with his other writings, though it has been more than once publiſh'd ſeparately; but is now deſervedly prefix'd to the edition of his works in the preſent year 1752, as a diſcourſe full of good ſenſe, though inferior to his later per-

[k] Life, *p.* 7.

[l] KENNET's regiſter and chronicle, *p.* 658.

[m] Dr. WALTER POPE's life of Dr. SETH WARD, Lord Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *p.* 52. *edit. London*, 1697.

performances in elegance of ſtyle, and exactneſs of compoſition.

At the time of preaching this ſermon he was ſtill among the Preſbyterians, whoſe commiſſioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the conference held at the *Savoy* for the review of the liturgy, in *July* 1661 [n]. But he immediately ſubmitted to the act of uniformity, which commenc'd on St. *Bartholomew*'s day the year following.

Upon his dedicating himſelf to the ſervice of the church, being ſenſible of the importance of a plain and edifying manner of preaching, he was very little diſpos'd to follow the patterns then ſet him, or indeed thoſe of former times. He form'd therefore one to himſelf, which has been juſtly conſider'd, as the beſt model for all ſucceeding ages [o].

The great improvements, which he made in this important branch of public inſtruction, whereby Chriſtianity has made a proviſion for the ſpreading the principles of morality and religion, which had been forgot by the Pagan legiſlators, and very inſufficiently attempted by the philoſophers of antiquity, will appear to thoſe, who conſider the ſtate of the pulpit at the time when he enter'd upon the function of a preacher. The whole form of the diſcourſes there was oppreſs'd with an unneceſſary mixture of various languages, affected wit, and puerile rhetoric; and the general ſenſe of the text was totally neglected, while every ſingle word of it was ſeparately conſidered under all its poſſible meanings. The hiſtory of preaching in our own country

[n] Reliquiæ BAXTERIANÆ, *part II. p.* 337.
[o] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 12, 13.

try and language, which cannot indeed be trac'd much higher than the reformation, would ſhew, that from the beginning of the ſeventeenth century as falſe a taſte had infected the pulpit, as had prevail'd after the corruption of the *Roman* eloquence, from the time of SENECA till the lower empire; and the gravity and ſimplicity of ſtyle, which diſtinguiſh'd the writers of the preceding age, were almoſt intirely loſt till after the reſtoration, when our author brought back both purity of language and force of reaſoning. The reign of HENRY VIII. produc'd two very learned Divines, Dr. FISHER, Biſhop of *Roche-ſter*, and Dr. COLET, Dean of *St. Paul's*; the former of whom has a few ſermons, and the latter one [P], ſtill extant, not contemptible for their ſtyle or argument. Thoſe of Dr. LATIMER, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, are defective in dignity and elegance, his frank remonſtrances to perſons of the higheſt rank being deliver'd in expreſſions of peculiar levity, and intermix'd with frequent ſtories unſuitable to the ſolemnity of the place and occaſion. The homilies drawn up under King EDWARD VI. are to be conſider'd as a condeſcenſion to the capacities of the common people. In the long reign of his ſiſter ELIZABETH appear'd ſeveral preachers, who did honour to it, JEWEL, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, WHITGIFT, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, SANDYS, Archbiſhop of *York*, whoſe ſermons are perhaps ſuperior to any of his contemporaries, and HOOKER, author of the *Eccleſiaſtical polity*. But the great corruption of the oratory of the pulpit may be aſcrib'd to Dr. ANDREWS, ſucceſſively Biſhop

P The *Engliſh* tranſlation of his ſermon before the Convocation in 1511, is ſuppos'd to have been done by himſelf.

of *Chicheſter*, *Ely*, and *Wincheſter*, whoſe high reputation on other accounts gave a ſanction to that vicious taſte introduc'd by him ſeveral years before the death of Queen ELIZABETH, one of his printed ſermons being preach'd as early as 1588. The pedantry of King JAMES I's court completed the degeneracy of all true eloquence, ſo that the moſt applauded preachers of that time are now inſupportable; and all the wit and learning of Dr. DONNE cannot ſecure his ſermons from univerſal neglect; and thoſe of HALES of *Eton* are ſcarce ever read by the moſt zealous admirers of his other writings. Biſhop HALL of *Exeter*, like many other great men of that age, in this kind of compoſition ſinks extremely below his own performances in all others, wherein he ſhews himſelf no ill copyer of SENECA's ſententious manner. Dr. SANDERSON, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in the beginning of the reign of CHARLES I, furniſh'd examples of a more eaſy and natural expreſſion, and a greater connexion and propriety of argument, than the nation had for many years been us'd to; and the few diſcourſes remaining of CHILLINGWORTH are not unworthy of his character. But the volume of Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR, who began to diſtinguiſh himſelf about the time of that King's death, deſerves much higher commendation for the copiouſneſs of his invention, and the extent and beauty of his imagination, on which accounts he may be conſider'd as the BARROW of an earlier date. But whoever is deſirous of a compendious view of the various manners of preaching in that time, may conſult a very ingenious imitation of them by Mr. ABRAHAM WRIGHT, Fellow of *St. John's College* in

Oxford, and afterwards Vicar of *Okeham* in *Rutlandſhire*, who in 1657 publiſh'd *Five ſermons in five ſeveral ſtyles or ways of preaching*; the firſt in that of Biſhop ANDREWS; the ſecond in that of Biſhop HALL; the third in that of Dr. JASPER MAYNE and Mr. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, two poets and dramatic writers, as well as preachers; the fourth in that of the *Preſbyterians*; and the fifth in that of the *Independents*.

Mr. TILLOTSON began his courſe of divinity with the true foundation of it, an exact ſtudy of the Scriptures, upon which he ſpent four or five years. He then applied himſelf to the reading of all the antient philoſophers and writers upon Ethics, and, among the fathers, chiefly to St. BASIL and St. CHRYSOSTOM. With theſe preparations he ſet himſelf to compoſe the greateſt variety of ſermons, and on the beſt ſubjects, that perhaps ever any one man has yet done. His joining with Dr. WILKINS in perfecting the ſcheme of *a real character and philoſophical language*, the *eſſay* towards which was publiſh'd in 1668, led him to conſider exactly the truth of language and ſtyle, in which no man was happier, or knew better the art of uniting dignity with ſimplicity, and tempering theſe ſo equally together, that neither his thoughts ſunk, nor ſtyle ſwell'd; keeping always a due mean between flatneſs and falſe rhetoric. Together with the pomp of words he cut off likewiſe all ſuperfluities and needleſs enlargements. He ſaid what was juſt neceſſary to give clear ideas of things, and no more. He laid aſide all long and affected periods. His ſentences were ſhort and clear; and the whole thread was of a piece, plain, and diſtinct. No affectations of learning, no tor-

turing of texts, no ſuperficial ſtrains, no falſe thoughts, nor bold flights. All was ſolid and yet lively, and grave as well as elegant; ſo that few ever heard him, but they found ſome new thought occur'd; ſomething, which either they had not conſidered before, or at leaſt not ſo diſtinctly, and with ſo clear a view, as he gave them. Whether he explain'd points of divinity, matters of controverſy, or the rules of morality, on which he dwelt moſt copiouſly, there was ſomething peculiar in him on all theſe topics, which conquered the mind, as well as it commanded the attention of his hearers, who felt all the while, that they were learning ſomewhat, and were never tired by him; for he retrench'd both the luxuriances of ſtyle, and the length of ſermons; and he concluded them with ſome thoughts of ſuch gravity and uſe, that he generally diſmiſs'd his hearers with ſuch reflexions, as made a laſting impreſſion upon them. He read his ſermons likewiſe with ſo due a pronunciation, and in ſo ſerious and ſolemn a manner, that they were not the feebler, but rather the perfecter, even by that way, which often leſſens the grace, as much as it adds to the exactneſs of ſuch diſcourſes [q]. For he was never capable of committing his ſermons to memory, or preaching extempore, according to the cuſtom of the earlier part of his time, tho' ſo great a maſter of language, as well as the whole compaſs of theological learning. This appear'd from an incident, which I ſhall relate upon good authority. Happening to be with a friend in the country, who was importunate with him to preach, though he was not furniſh'd with a ſermon, he ventur'd into the

[q] Funeral ſermon by Biſhop BURNET, *p.* 13, 14.

the pulpit, where he took for his text, one of the plaineſt and fulleſt of matter which he could recollect, *For we muſt all appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt*; upon which he has no leſs than five diſcourſes in his works: And yet he ſoon found himſelf ſo much at a loſs, that after about ten minutes ſpent with great pain to himſelf, and no great ſatisfaction to his audience, he came down with a reſolution never to make the like attempt for the future. And it is obſervable, that the ſame kind of confuſion happen'd to Dr. SANDERSON, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was equally remarkable for an excellent memory, and a clear and logical head, when, at the perſuaſion of his friend Dr. HAMMOND, he left his ſermon with him, and endeavour'd to repeat it to a village congregation [r].

The firſt office in the church, in which we find him employ'd after the reſtoration, was that of Curate at *Cheſhunt* in *Hertfordſhire*, in the years 1661 and 1662 [s], to Dr. THOMAS HACKET, the Vicar, who had been before Dean of *Cork* in *Ireland*, and was in *Auguſt* 1662. collated to the Rectory of *St. Chriſtopher's* in *London*, in the room of Dr. JOHN PEARSON, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, which Rectory he reſign'd in *Auguſt* 1663, as he did *Cheſhunt* in *October* 1672, upon being made Biſhop of *Down and Connor* [t]. Here Mr. TILLOTSON is ſaid by his mild and gentle behaviour, and perſuaſive eloquence, to have prevail'd with an old *Oliverian* ſoldier, who preach'd among the *Anabaptiſts* in that town in a red coat, and was much follow'd, to

[r] Mr. IZAAC WALTON's life of Biſhop SANDERSON, *edit. London*, 1678. [s] Life, *p.* 7, 8.
[t] NEWCOUNT Reperitorium, *vol. I. p.* 325.

deſiſt from that, and betake himſelf to ſome other employment [u].

The ſhort diſtance of *Cheſhunt* from *London* allowing him frequent opportunities of viſiting his friends in that city, he was frequently invited into the pulpits there. Accordingly we find, that his ſermon on *Eccleſ.* xii. 1. *On the advantages of early piety*, was preach'd at *St. Laurence Jury* in 1662; on the 16th of *December* of which year he was elected miniſter of the adjoining pariſh of *St. Mary Aldermanbury*, by the pariſhioners, in whom the right of choice is inveſted, upon the deprivation of Mr. EDMUND CALAMY by the act of uniformity [w]. But Mr. TILLOTSON declin'd the acceptance of that living; which oblig'd them to proceed to a new choice of Mr. RICHARD MARTIN, on the 28th of *January* $166\frac{2}{3}$.

But he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being preſented in *June* 1663 to the Rectory of *Ketton* or *Keddington*, in the county of *Suffolk*, worth 200 *l.* a year, vacated by the ejection of Mr. SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH for Noncomformity, who had the ſatisfaction of being ſucceeded by a perſon of ſuch eminent abilities, candour, and moderation [x].

However, his reſidence there was but ſhort, being called to *London* by the ſociety of *Lincoln's Inn*, to be their preacher; and the choice of him is ſaid to have taken its riſe from the following incident. Mr. ATKYNS, one of the Benchers

[u] Life, *p.* 7, 8. [w] KENNET's regiſter and chronicle, *p.* 843. [x] LE NEVE, *p.* 223. Mr SAMUEL CLARKE's lives of eminent men, *p.* 175. and Dr. CALAMY's account, *p.* 638.

Benchers of that inn, and afterwards Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, being preſent at the *Tueſday* lecture at *St. Laurence Jewry*, on a day when Mr. TILLOTSON happen'd to ſupply the place of the ſtated lecturer, was ſo pleas'd with his ſermon, that he went to him in the veſtry, and offer'd him his intereſt for the place of preacher of *Lincoln's Inn*, which would be ſoon vacant. Mr. TILLOTSON was accordingly elected to that office on the 26th of *November* 1663, upon the terms allow'd his predeceſſor, of one hundred pounds, payable at the end of every term by equal portions; the firſt payment to begin at the end of the next term; and twenty-four pounds more for vacation commons; with commons for himſelf and his ſervant in term-time, and a chamber. And five of the Maſters of the Bench were appointed to acquaint him with his election, and to inform him of the duty expected from him, that he ſhould preach twice every Lord's day in term-time, and next before and after term, and in reading time, and in every Lord's day in the vacation, and as other occaſions ſhould require; and adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, together with the chaplain of the houſe, every term and vacation; and reſide conſtantly in the ſociety, without abſenting himſelf thence, without the leave of the Maſters of the Bench in council [y].

His predeceſſors in this poſt had been generally men of the greateſt eminence for learning; and among theſe were Mr. THOMAS GATAKER, afterwards Rector of *St. Mary Rotherith* in *Southwark*, and Dr. JOHN DONNE, Dean of *St. Paul's*, whoſe *Pſeudo-martyr*, the moſt valuable of

[y] From the books of the ſociety of *Lincoln's Inn*.

of his proſe-writings, contains an unanſwerable confutation of the Papal ſupremacy, and whoſe poetical works ſhew a prodigious fund of genius under the diſguiſe of an affected and obſcure ſtyle, and a moſt inharmonious verſification. But of Mr. TILLOTSON's immediate predeceſſor, Mr. THOMAS GREENFIELD, educated in *Pembroke College* in *Oxford*, where he took the degree of Maſter of arts on the fourth of *December* 1641 [z], I find nothing extant, except a ſermon preach'd before the Houſe of Commons on *Wedneſday, June* 12th, 1661, appointed for a ſolemn humiliation upon the late abundance of rain, and the danger of famine and peſtilence likely to enſue thereby; in which ſermon he loudly complains of the neglect of the *loyal party*, as the ſin, which had peculiarly brought down that judgment upon the nation; ſince there were, in his language, *ſtrange and monſtrous couples then marching together in* England, *loyalty and rags, loyalty and lice, loyalty and hunger, loyalty and a priſon.* But this whole diſcourſe is written ſo much in the bad taſte of the preceding times, that the ſociety of *Lincoln's Inn* were conſiderable gainers in the exchange of Mr. GREENFIELD for Mr. TILLOTSON.

The invitation to that ſociety was ſo agreeable to Mr. TILLOTSON, that he determin'd to ſettle himſelf intirely among them; and tho' in the intervals of the terms he could have given a large part of the year to his pariſh in *Suffolk*; yet ſo ſtrict was he to the paſtoral care in point of reſidence, that he reſign'd that living, even when his income in *London* could ſcarce ſupport him.

[z] WOOD. Faſti Oxon. *vol. I. col.* 2.

him [a]. He was the more diſpos'd to this from the ſtrong prejudices of the people there in favour of a religious ſyſtem, too prevalent in that age, but directly oppoſite to that more rational one of real and genuine Chriſtianity, upon which he had form'd all his diſcourſes to them: and ſoon diſcovering how little his preaching was reliſh'd there, he communicated to his patron his intention of quitting them upon that account. Sir THOMAS BARNADISTON with great civility endeavour'd to perſuade him, that he was miſtaken in his ſuſpicions; but his Lady, more ſincere, being deſir'd to ſpeak her mind, acknowledg'd, that neither herſelf, nor even Sir THOMAS, however he might affect to diſguiſe his ſentiments, were at all of a different opinion from the reſt of the pariſh, who univerſally complain'd, that Jeſus Chriſt had not been preach'd amongſt them, ſince Mr. TILLOTSON had been ſettled in the pariſh. To this incident, which is very well atteſted, he ſeems clearly to allude in his *ſermon againſt evil-ſpeaking*, preach'd near thirty years after, towards the cloſe of which he has this paſſage: "I foreſee what will be ſaid, "becauſe I have heard it ſo often ſaid in the like "caſe, that there *is not one word of Jeſus Chriſt* "*in all this.* No more is there in the text, [*Ti-*"*tus* iii. 2.] and yet I hope, that Jeſus Chriſt is "truly preach'd, whenever his *will*, and *laws*, "and the *duties* injoin'd by the Chriſtian religion, "are inculcated upon us."

The reputation, which his preaching gain'd him in ſo conſpicuous a ſtation as that of *Lincoln's Inn*, recommended him the year following to the truſtees of the *Tueſday* lecture at *St. Laurence Jewry*,

[a] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 19.

Jewry, founded by ELIZABETH Viſcounteſs CAMDEN. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remoteſt parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourſe of the clergy, who came thither to form their minds [b].

Soon after his ſettlement at *Lincoln's Inn*, he was invited to preach before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen at *St. Paul's*, which he did on *Job* xxviii. 28. in *March* 166$\frac{3}{4}$; and on the 15th of that month he was deſired by them to print his ſermon; for which purpoſe it had the *Imprimatur* of Dr. JOHN HALL, Chaplain to Dr. HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, Biſhop of *London*, on the 13th of *May* 1664, as containing "many things "highly uſeful for ſupporting the main foun-"dation of religion, and confuting the prodi-"gious vanity of the atheiſts of that age." *Plurima, quæ ad præcipuum religionis fundamentum tutandum, & ad prodigioſam atheorum hujus ſeculi vanitatem redarguendam egregiè ſunt accommodata.* It was accordingly publiſh'd in 1664, in 4to, under the title of, *The wiſdom of being religious*, with a dedication to the Lord-Mayor, Sir ANTHONY BATEMAN, and the Court of Aldermen; which not being reprinted in our author's works, will be proper to be inſerted here. "In obedience, "ſays he, to your order, I here preſent you "with a ſermon, which you formerly heard. I "know not how acceptable diſcourſes of this "nature may be: I am ſure they are very ſea-"ſonable in this degenerate age, in which *atheiſm* "and *prophaneneſs* are grown ſo impudent, and, "notwithſtanding the reſtraints of ſhame and "laws, do appear with ſo bold a face in the "world.

[b] Ibid. *p.* 19, 20.

" world. When men arrive to that degree of " confidence, as to tell the world, that [c] the no- " tion of a ſpirit implies a contradiction: that " fear and fancy are the parents of a deity, and " *ignorance* and *melancholy* the true cauſes of *de-* " *votion*; and that *religion* is nothing elſe [d] but " *the fear of inviſible power feigned by the mind,* " *or imagined from tales publickly allowed:* When " it ſhall be counted brave to defy God, and " every dabbler in natural philoſophy, or ma- " thematics, or politics, ſhall ſet up for an " atheiſt; ſure then it is high time to reſiſt this " growing evil. To this purpoſe I have en- " larged that part of the diſcourſe, which is " more immediately levelled againſt atheiſm, be- " yond what the limits of the time would allow " me in the preaching of it; and in hope, that " it may do ſome ſervice to that end, it is now " humbly offered to you." This ſermon in the original edition contains no leſs than ſixty-four pages in 4to, and it was afterwards inlarg'd and improv'd by the author in the manner in which it now appears in the front of his works, and is for the ſize of it one of the moſt elegant, perſpicuous, and convincing defences of religion in our own or any other language.

He ſaw now with deep regret the fatal corruption of that age, in which the hypocriſies and extravagances of the times preceding the reſtoration, concurring with the liberties and looſeneſs of morals immediately following it, diſpos'd many perſons to impiety and atheiſm. This awaken'd his attention and zeal; and having conſider'd all the antient and modern apologies for the Chriſtian religion, with an exactneſs, that became the

[c] Leviathan, *part III. c.* 34. [d] *Part I. c.* 6.

the importance of the ſubject, he ſet the whole ſtrength of his thoughts and ſtudies to withſtand the progreſs, which irreligion was making. In order to that he laboured particularly to deduce every thing from the cleareſt principles, and to make all people feel the reaſonableneſs of the truths, as well as of the precepts of the Chriſtian religion. When he ſaw, that Popery was at the root of the growing contempt of religion, and that the deſign ſeem'd to be laid, to make men firſt *Atheiſts*, that they might be the more eaſily made *Papiſts*, and that many did not ſtick to own, that no certainty could be had of the Chriſtian faith, unleſs upon the baſis of the infallibility of the church; this gave him a deep and juſt indignation. It was ſuch a betraying of the cauſe of GOD, rather than not to gain their own, that in this the foundation was laid of his great zeal againſt Popery. This drew his ſtudies for ſome years much that way. He look'd on the whole ſyſtem of Popery, as ſuch a corruption of the intire deſign of Chriſtianity, that he thought it was incumbent on him to ſet himſelf againſt it with the zeal and courage, ſuitable to that cauſe, and neceſſary for thoſe times. He thought, that the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the church of *Rome* enervated true piety and morality; and that its cruelty was ſuch a contradiction to the meekneſs of Chriſt, and to that love and charity, which our Lord made the character and diſtinction of his diſciples and followers, that he reſolv'd to ſacrifice every thing, except a good conſcience, in a cauſe, for which he had determin'd, if it ſhould come to extremities, to become a ſacrifice himſelf [e].

His

[e] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 15, 16.

His enemies ſoon ſaw how much he ſtood in their way, and were not wanting in the arts of calumny to diſable him from oppoſing them with that eminent ſucceſs, which his writings and ſermons had on the nation. His life was too pure in all the parts of it, to give them a pretence to attack him in that reſpect. So regular a piety, ſuch an unblemiſh'd probity, and ſo extenſive and tender a charity, together with his great and conſtant labours both in private and public, rais'd him above reproach. And he was too generally known and eſteem'd, for his enemies to venture upon the common arts of defaming; ſo that ſubtiler methods were to be uſed, ſince his virtue was too exemplary to be blemiſh'd in the ordinary way. His endeavouring to make out every thing in religion from clear and plain principles, and with the fulneſs of demonſtrative proof, was laid hold on to make him paſs for one, who could believe nothing, that lay beyond the compaſs of human reaſon. And his tender method of treating with Diſſenters, and his endeavours to unite all Proteſtants amongſt themſelves, were repreſented as a want of zeal in the cauſe of the church, and an inclination towards thoſe, who departed from it. But how unhappily ſucceſsful ſoever they might be in infuſing theſe jealouſies of him into ſome warm and unwary men, he ſtill perſever'd in his own way. He would neither depart from his moderation, nor take pains to cover himſelf from ſo falſe an imputation. He thought the openneſs of his temper, the courſe of his life, his ſincerity, and the viſible effects of his labours, which had contributed ſo much to turn the greateſt part of the city to a hearty love of the church, and a firm

adherence to the communion of it [f], in which no man was ever more eminently diſtinguiſh'd than he was; he thought, that conſtant zeal, with which he had always ſerved ſuch as came to labour in the city, and by which he had been ſo ſingularly uſeful to them; he thought the great change, that had been made in bringing mens minds off from many wild opinions to ſober and ſteady principles, and that in ſo prudent a manner, that things were done without mens perceiving it, or being either ſtartled or made uneaſy by the peeviſhneſs, which is raiſed and kept up by contradiction or diſputing, in which no man had a larger ſhare than himſelf; all theſe reaſons he thought would prevent his conduct from needing any apology [g].

His

[f] His ſucceſs in this reſpect, and that of ſome of his friends, are confeſs'd by that rigid Independant and Calviniſt LEWIS DU MOULIN, M. D. *Camdenian* Profeſſor of hiſtory at *Oxford*, by the appointment of the Parliament till the Reſtoration, who retracted in the preſence of Dr. BURNET the virulence of his writings againſt the church of *England* at his death *October* 20, 1683. at the age of 77. He obſerves in his laſt tract, intitled, *An appeal of all the Nonconformiſts in* England *to* GOD *and all the Proteſtants, in order to manifeſt their ſincerity in point of obedience to* GOD *and the King*, printed at *London* 1681, in 4to, that "ſeveral Biſhops "and Doctors of the church of *England*, as Dr. LLOYD, "Dr. TILLOTSON, Dr. STILLINGFEET, Dr. PATRICK, "that are acknowledg'd by the Nonconformiſts to be per- "ſons of great learning, and worth, and piety, but who are "extreme admirers of the Epiſcopacy of *England*, and all "its conſequences, and who have alſo preferred its govern- "ment to all other eſtabliſhmentsin *Europe*, have by an "unlucky accident contributed more towards the reputa- "tion of the *Engliſh* hierarchy and its practices, and towards "the perpetuating the feuds and quarrels between the Con- "formiſts and Nonconformiſts, than it had been poſſible for "any other corrupted party to do by all their irregularities "and advances towards *Rome*."

[g] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 16, 17, 18.

His zeal againſt Popery, and apprehenſions of the progreſs of it, having led him to examine the great queſtion between the Proteſtants and church of *Rome* concerning the rule of faith, he drew up an anſwer to a treatiſe, which was boaſted of by the profeſſors of that church, as an impregnable defence of their cauſe, and intitled, *Sure footing in Chriſtianity; or rational diſcourſes on the rule of faith*, printed in 1664, in a large 8vo. The author of it was Mr JOHN SARJEANT, whoſe real name was SMITH, a ſecular prieſt, born in *Lincolnſhire* about the year 1621, and admitted of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, in 1637, by the Maſters and Seniors of which he was recommended to be Secretary to Dr. THOMAS MORTON, Biſhop of *Durham*, in which employment he continued, till falling into doubts about his religion he went over to the *Engliſh* college of ſecular prieſts at *Liſbon* in *Portugal* in 1642, and was afterwards prefect of ſtudies in that college; and in 1652 returning to *England*, was elected Secretary of the ſecular clergy, and employ'd in propagating his religion, and writing books in defence of it [h], particularly againſt Dr. HAMMOND, Dr. BRAMHALL, Biſhop of *Derry*, and Dr. THOMAS PEIRCE, afterwards Dean of *Sarum*. Mr. TILLOTSON's *Rule of Faith* was licens'd for the preſs by Dr. HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, Biſhop of *London*, on the 27th of *February* 166$\frac{5}{6}$, and printed at *London* 1666 in 8vo. He inſcrib'd it in a prefatory epiſtle to his *honoured and learned friend* Mr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, whoſe *Rational account of the grounds of the Pro-*

[h] WOOD. Athen. Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 1068.

Proteſtant religion, printed in 1664, Mr. TILLOTSON had read with great ſatisfaction, and now return'd his thanks for it, not only as a private favour, but a public benefit. This excellent writer, who was known to the world before by his *Irenicum* publiſhed in 1659, and his *Origines ſacræ* in 1662, and was a native of *Cranborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, where he was born *April* 17th, 1635, and educated at *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, having ſpent ſome years at his Rectory of *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, except in term-time, after he was appointed Chaplain to Sir HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON, Maſter of the Rolls, was now fix'd in *London* in the Rectory of *St. Andrew Holborn*, to which he was collated in *January* 166$\frac{4}{5}$, by the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High-treaſurer. His *Rational account* having likewiſe been attack'd by Mr. SARJEANT in his *third Appendix*, he wrote a *Reply*, in the form of a letter to Mr. TILLOTSON, dated at *London June* 28th, 1665, and printed as an *Appendix* to the *Rule of faith*. Mr. SARJEANT was not long ſilent with regard to Mr. TILLOTSON, but publiſh'd *A letter of thanks from the author of* Sure footing *to his anſwerer Mr.* J. T. ſaid in the title-page to be printed at *Paris*, but really printed at *London* in 1666, in an octavo of 131 pages, dated *March* 7th. The year following alſo Mr. SARJEANT publiſh'd *Faith vindicated from poſſibility of falſhood; or the immoveable firmneſs and certainty of the motives to Chriſtian faith aſſerted againſt that tenet, which denying infallibility of authority ſubverts its foundation, and renders it uncertain.* This was printed at *London*, though pretended in the title-page to be at *Louvain*, and contains 175 pages in 8vo, beſides a poſt-

ſcript of ſix pages. In this book Mr. SARJEANT having attack'd a paſſage in p. 31. of the firſt edition of Dr. TILLOTSON's ſermon on the *Wiſdom of being religious*, the Doctor replied to his exceptions to that ſermon and to his *Rule of faith*, in the preface to the firſt volume of his ſermons, printed in 1671 in 8vo, to which there was a rejoinder the year following, in a piece intitled *Reaſon againſt raillery; or a full anſwer to Dr.* TILLOTSON's *preface againſt* J. SARJEANT. There was drawn up alſo *a punctual anſwer* to his *Rule of faith* by Mr. JOHN AUSTEN, a gentleman of *Norfolk*, and a noted writer for the *Roman* catholic church, to which he was a convert, after having been educated in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, which he quitted, as well as his religion, about the year 1640, entering himſelf into the Society of *Lincoln's Inn*, till the breaking out of the civil wars forc'd him to abandon his country, to which he afterwards return'd, and died at his houſe in *Bow-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden* in the ſummer of the year 1669. His *Punctual anſwer* was actually committed to the preſs, and ſix or ſeven ſheets of it printed off; but the impreſſion was never finiſh'd [i]. Dr. HICKES endeavours to rob our great Divine of the reputation of being the author of the *Rule of faith*, pretending [k], that ſome of Dr. TILLOTSON's friends had aſſured him, that he borrow'd that book from the diſcourſes of the learned Dr. ZACHARY CRADOCK, Provoſt of *Eton College*, who had deſign'd to anſwer Mr. SARJEANT's *Sure footing*. To this charge Biſhop BURNET anſwers [l], that though it is certain, that no perſon could

[i] Id. ibid. *col.* 653.
[k] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 46.
[l] Reflections, *p.* 92, 93.

converſe with Dr. CRADOCK on any ſubject, but he might learn much from him, yet "I do "not, ſays he, believe he ever intended to an- "ſwer SARJEANT, or any other book whatſo- "ever. I am ſure it is not very like him. "Our Primate had a ſtock of his own, and "needed to borrow from no body."

His love of learning, and zeal for the promotion of the ſtudy of the Scriptures, made him one of the earlieſt encouragers of that uſeful and elaborate work, the *Synopſis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum*, undertaken and executed by Mr. MATTHEW POOL. The author had firſt given the world a ſpecimen of his deſign, with a recommendation of it by many of the greateſt names in the church at that time, and among them that of Dr. TILLOTSON, who had taken that degree in divinity in 1666; and he, together with Dr. PATRICK, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, and ſome others, had the truſt and management of the monies ſubſcrib'd for the publication of the *Synopſis* [m]. His Majeſty having granted a patent to Mr. POOL on the 4th of *October* 1667. for the privilege of printing his work, the two firſt volumes were publiſh'd at *London* in folio, in 1669, and three more afterwards. This learned man, whoſe abilities and piety intitled him to the great ſhare, which he had in Dr. TILLOTSON's friendſhip, was born in *York*, and ſon of FRANCIS POOL, Eſq; and deſcended of an antient family of that name at *Sprinkhill* in *Derbyſhire*. His education was in *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, under Dr JOHN WORTHINGTON, where he took the degree of Maſter of arts [n], in

[m] Vide Præfat. Synopſ. criticor. *p. vi, vii.*
[n] Dr. CALAMY's Account, *p.* 14.

in which he was incorporated at *Oxford* in *June* 1657 [o]. He was at the head of a ſcheme, form'd and completed by him, for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the univerſity of *Cambridge*, for the ſtudy of divinity, having by his ſollicitations in a ſhort time rais'd 900 *l.* a year for that purpoſe; and to this ſcheme, which ſunk at the reſtoration, the world is ſaid in ſome meaſure to owe Dr. SHERLOCK, afterwards Dean of *St. Paul's*. Mr. POOL loſt his Rectory of *St. Michael le Quern* in *London* by the act of uniformity in 1662; and retiring at laſt to *Holland* for the free exerciſe of his religion, died at *Amſterdam* in *October* 1679 [p]. Beſides his *Synopſis*, which was the product of ten years indefatigable induſtry, he publiſh'd *Engliſh annotations on the holy ſcriptures*, in which he proceeded no farther than the 58th chapter of *Iſaiah*, being prevented by death; and ſeveral other books both in practical and controverſial divinity.

The high reputation of Dr. JOHN WILKINS, and the intereſt of the VILLIERS Duke of *Buckingham*, having at laſt, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Archbiſhop SHELDON, and other great men of the church, induc'd the King to advance him to a Biſhopric, Dr. TILLOTSON was deſir'd to preach the ſermon on *Sunday* the 15th of *November* 1668, in the chapel in *Ely* houſe, at his conſecration to the Biſhopric of *Cheſter*, vacant by the death of Dr. GEORGE HALL, on the 23d of *Auguſt* preceding, of a wound received by a knife in his pocket, in a fall from the mount in his garden [q] at the rectory houſe at

[o] WOOD. Faſti Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 118. [p] Dr. CALAMY, *ubi ſupra*. [q] MS. Diary of public affairs, in the poſſeſſion of the right honourable THOMAS Lord Viſcount WEYMOUTH.

Wigan. Dr. TILLOTSON was now related to Biſhop WILKINS by the marriage of his daughter-in-law, ELIZABETH FRENCH, who was niece to OLIVER CROMWELL, being daughter of Dr. PETER FRENCH, Canon of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, by ROBINA, ſiſter to the Protector, re-married about the year 1656 to Dr. WILKINS, then Warden of *Wadham College*; who obtain'd a diſpenſation of the Statutes of that college for that marriage from the Protector, his brother-in-law, whoſe intereſt he made uſe of upon all occaſions for the ſupport of learning, and the protection of learned men in that univerſity.

The natural modeſty of Dr. TILLOTSON, and his averſeneſs to ſollicitation, did not prevent his merit from having juſtice done it by the intereſt, which it gain'd him even at court, as well as in the city; for upon the promotion of Dr. PETER GUNNING to the Biſhopric of *Chicheſter* in *February* 1669-70, in the room of Dr. HENRY KING, he was collated to the Prebend of the ſecond ſtall in the cathedral of *Canterbury*, which had been held by the new Biſhop; and was admitted to it on the 14th of *March*. He kept this Prebend till he was advanc'd to the Deanry of that church in *October* 1672, in the room of Dr. THOMAS TURNER, who died on the 8th of that month, at a very advanc'd age, having been domeſtic Chaplain to Archbiſhop LAUD, and to King CHARLES I. by the latter of whom he was made Canon-reſidentiary of *St. Paul's*, and Dean of *Rocheſter* in *February* 164½, which he exchang'd the year following for that of *Canterbury*. Dr. TILLOTSON was ſucceeded in his Prebend of *Canterbury* by Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, and then

then domeſtic Chaplain to Archbiſhop SHELDON, by whom he was collated to it.

Nor was *Canterbury* the only cathedral, in which Dr. TILLOTSON was preferr'd; for on the 18th of *December* 1675. he was preſented to the Prebend of *Ealdland* in that of *St. Paul's*, *London*, which he reſign'd for that of *Oxgate*, and a Reſidentiariſhip in the ſame church on the 14th of *February* $167\frac{7}{8}$. This laſt preferment was obtain'd for him by the intereſt of his friend Dr. JOHN SHARP, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, with HENEAGE Lord FINCH, Lord High-Chancellor [r], to whom Dr. SHARP had been domeſtic Chaplain above ten years before, having liv'd with that nobleman while he was only Attorney-General, his Lordſhip, after he was poſſeſs'd of the Great-Seal, devolving on him the province of inquiring into the characters of thoſe Divines, who were candidates for preferment [s]. The friendſhip between the Dean and Dr. SHARP was occaſioned by an accidental meeting upon this occaſion: Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, the Dean's brother, was a wet and dry-ſalter, or oilman in *London*, of which trade was the Doctor's father, Mr. THOMAS SHARP, at *Bradford* in *Yorkſhire*. The Doctor returning from thence into Sir HENEAGE FINCH's family, with a bill drawn on Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, happen'd to meet at his houſe Dr. TILLOTSON, who finding Mr. SHARP to be his countryman, and a young Clergyman ſetting out into

[r] Letter to me from the Rev. and learned Dr. THOMAS SHARP Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, ſon of Archbiſhop SHARP, and godſon of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, dated *November* 7. 1751.

[s] Life of GEORGE BULL Biſhop of *St. David's*: by ROBERT NELSON, Eſq; *p.* 278, 279. *2d edit. London*, 1714.

the world, being above fourteen years younger than himſelf, with his uſual goodneſs and civility took particular notice of him, and after ſome converſation gave Mr. SHARP leave to come freely to his houſe, whenever he pleas'd, and to have recourſe to him as often as he thought it might be ſerviceable to him. Mr. SHARP judg'd this a moſt fortunate interview, and himſelf extremely happy in ſo valuable an acquaintance, and ever after ſpoke with pleaſure of this incident. And this was the foundation of a firm and laſting friendſhip between them, improv'd by an intimate acquaintance for many years, and cemented by repeated acts of mutual good offices [t].

The Dean of *Canterbury* had now been ſome years Chaplain to King CHARLES II, tho' his Majeſty had no kindneſs for him, according to the ſuggeſtion of Biſhop BURNET [u], admitted by Dr. HICKES [w]. But to whomſoever he owed his preferments, which can only be conſider'd as the juſt rewards of his extraordinary merits, they had no other effect upon him, than to inlarge his capacity of doing good. He neither ſlackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by them. He did not content himſelf with ſuch a Reſidence, as anſwered the Statute, conſidering his obligations to attend the court; but gave as much of his time and labours to his cathedral, as could agree with his other obligations. He neither aſpired nor hearkened to the motions of a farther advancement; and all that he deſired afterwards upon the revolution, was ſuch a change of his Deanry of *Canterbury* for that of St. *Paul*'s, as conſiderably leſſened his income, by the reſignation

[t] Letter of Archdeacon SHARP. [u] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 20, 21. [w] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 63, 64.

ſignation of his Reſidentiariſhip of the latter, but delivered him from the invidious load of having two dignities. He bore this in the two former reigns, becauſe the practice was common; and he was enabled by it to go ſo far in his charities. But as he intended to put a ſtop to that abuſe, ſo he reſolved to ſet an example to others [x].

His zeal againſt Popery, as the grand corruption and reproach of the moſt excellent religion that ever appeared in the world, was not at all abated by any favours, which he had already receiv'd, or might expect, from a court too juſtly ſuſpected of favouring the principles of the church of *Rome*, as a means of eſtabliſhing an abſolute deſpotic government. And he exerted this zeal upon all proper occaſions, eſpecially when there appeared any immediate danger of the progreſs of theſe principles. This he did particularly in the year 1672, towards the cloſe of which he was advanced to the Deanry of *Canterbury*; upon the King's having on the 15th of *March* 167$\frac{2}{3}$, with a view of indulgence to the papiſts, publiſhed *a declaration for liberty of conſcience*, by an extraordinary act of power, abrogating ſeveral acts of Parliament, or at leaſt ſuſpending the execution of them. The Biſhops in general, and particularly Dr. HUMPHRY HENCHMAN Biſhop of *London*, being alarm'd at this, charged their Clergy to preach againſt Popery. But the King complaining to Archbiſhop SHELDON of this, as done on purpoſe to inflame the people, and alienate them from himſelf and his government, that prelate called together ſome of the Clergy, to conſider what he ſhould ſay to his Majeſty, if he preſs'd him any farther on that

[x] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 20, 21.

that head; when Dr. TILLOTSON, who was one of theſe, ſuggeſted this anſwer, That ſince his Majeſty profeſs'd the Proteſtant religion, it would be a thing without precedent, that he ſhould forbid his Clergy to preach in defence of a religion, which they believed, while he declar'd himſelf of it. However there was no occaſion for that or any other anſwer, his Majeſty never renewing the motion [y].

But the Dean's concern for the eſſence of pure and incorrupted Chriſtianity was attended with a proportionable moderation of temper and principles with reſpect to the leſſer differences amongſt Proteſtants, and eſpecially thoſe of our own country. Hence followed a conſtant deſire in him of a more intire union of them, not only on account of the general advantage of it; but likewiſe of the particular one of forming a ſtronger barrier againſt the perpetual encroachments of the See of *Rome*. He joined therefore with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, and Mr. HEZEKIAH BURTON, in the treaty propoſed by Sir ORLANDO BRIDGMAN, Lord-keeper of the Great-ſeal, about *January* $166\frac{7}{8}$, and countenanced by the Lord-chief-baron HALE, for a comprehenſion of ſuch of the Diſſenters, as could be brought into the communion of the church, and a toleration of the reſt. Dr. BATES, Dr. MANTON, and Mr. BAXTER being called for on the ſide of the Preſbyterians, a project was prepared, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe things, which the King had promiſed by his declaration from *Breda* in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was propoſed, that thoſe, who had Preſbyterian ordination, ſhould be received to ſerve in the church by

[y] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own time, *vol. I. p.* 309.

by an impoſition of hands, accompanied with words importing, that the perſon ſo ordained was received to ſerve as a miniſter in the church of *England*. But this treaty becoming the ſubject of common diſcourſe, a clamour was raiſed, eſpecially by the friends of the Earl of CLARENDON, diſgrac'd in *Auguſt* 1667, and now in baniſhment, that the church was undermin'd and betray'd [z]; and when a bill, drawn up by Lord-chief-baron HALE, was to be preſented to the Parliament, a reſolution paſſed againſt admitting any bill of that nature [a]. A ſecond attempt was made in 1674, when the Dean, in conjunction with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, deſired a meeting with the principal of the Non-conformiſts, Dr. WILLIAM BATES, Dr. THOMAS MANTON, Mr. MATTHEW POOL, and Mr. BAXTER, in order to an accommodation; for which theſe two Divines declar'd they had the encouragement of ſeveral lords, both ſpiritual and temporal. They were at firſt met by Mr. BAXTER alone; with whom having conſider'd and canvaſs'd various draughts, they at length fix'd on one, in which they agreed. This being communicated to the Non-conformiſts, proved ſatisfactory to them; but the Biſhops refuſing to aſſent to many particulars in it, the treaty was ſoon at an end. Mr. BAXTER ſent to Dr. TILLOTSON, to know whether he might have leave to ſpeak of it, in order to the promoting concord; and to ſignify how far they were agreed, that their names might be ſome advantage to the work; upon which the Doctor returned him an anſwer on the 11th of *April* 1675, in

[z] Ibid. *p.* 259.

[a] BURNET's Life of Sir MATTHEW HALE, *p.* 42, 43. and CALAMY's abridgment of Mr. BAXTER's hiſtory of his life and times, *p.* 317—322. *2d edit.*

in which he informed him, that he had taken the firſt opportunity to ſpeak to the Biſhop of *Sarum* [b], who promis'd to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the Biſhop of *Cheſter* [c] with it, in order to a meeting. But that upon ſome general diſcourſe he plainly perceiv'd ſeveral things could not be obtain'd. That however the Biſhop of *Sarum* had promis'd to appoint a time of meeting; but that he had not heard from his Lordſhip ſince. That for his own part he was unwilling, that his name ſhould be uſed in this matter; not but that he did moſt heartily deſire an accommodation, and ſhould always endeavour it. But that he was ſure it would be a prejudice to him, and ſignify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumſtances were, could not paſs in either houſe without the concurrence of a conſiderable part of the Biſhops, and the countenance of his Majeſty, which for the preſent he ſaw little reaſon to expect [d].

Dr. WILKINS, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, dying of the ſtone at the Dean of *Canterbury*'s houſe in *Chancery-lane*, on the 19th of *November* 1672, by his laſt will committed his papers to the Dean's care, leaving it wholly to his diſpoſal, whether any, or what part of them, ſhould be made public. The Dean knowing, that *the* Biſhop's *principles of natural religion* had been always deſign'd by him for that purpoſe, thought it a juſtice to the world to publiſh that treatiſe, tho' a conſiderable part of it wanted the author's laſt hand, the firſt twelve chapters only being tranſcrib'd by him for the preſs. He therefore finiſh'd the remainder out of the Biſhop's papers; and

[b] Dr. SETH WARD. [c] Dr. JOHN PEARSON.
[d] Dr. CALAMY's Abridgment, *p.* 343.

and though he warns the reader not to expect, that the work ſhould be of equal ſtrength and beauty in all the parts of it; yet the ſkill of the compiler was probably a full equivalent for the want of the finiſhing ſtrokes of the original writer. He publiſh'd it in 1675 in 8vo, with an excellent preface concerning the deſign of it: the firſt branch of which is the eſtabliſhing the great principles of religion, the *being of a* God, and a *future ſtate*, by ſhewing how firm and ſolid a foundation they have in the nature and reaſon of mankind; a work never more neceſſary, than in that degenerate age, ſo miſerably overrun with ſcepticiſm and infidelity. The next point in view was to convince men of the natural and indiſpenſable obligation of *moral duties*, comprehended by our Saviour under the two general heads of *love of* God *and our neighbour*. For all the great duties of *piety* and *juſtice* are written upon our hearts, and every man feels a ſecret obligation to them in his own conſcience, which checks and reſtrains him from acting contrary to them, and gives him peace and ſatisfaction in the diſcharge of his duty; or, in caſe he offend againſt it, fills him with guilt and terror. And certainly it is a thing of very conſiderable uſe, rightly to underſtand the natural obligation of moral duties, and how neceſſarily they flow from the conſideration of God and of *ourſelves*. For it is a great miſtake to think, that the obligation of them depends ſolely upon the revelation of God's will made to us in the holy ſcriptures. It is plain, that mankind was always under a law, even before God had made any external and extraordinary revelation: elſe, how ſhall God judge the world? how ſhall they, to whom

whom the word of GOD never came, be acquitted or condemn'd at the great day? For *where there is no law*, there can be neither *obedience* nor *tranſgreſſion*. " It is indeed, *adds the Dean*, an " unſpeakable advantage, which we, who are " Chriſtians, do enjoy, both in reſpect of the " more clear and certain knowledge of our duty " in all the branches of it, and likewiſe in re- " gard of the powerful motives and aſſiſtance, " which our bleſſed Saviour in his goſpel offers to " us, to enable and encourage us to the diſcharge " of our duty. But yet it is nevertheleſs very " uſeful for us to conſider the primary and na- " tural obligation to piety and virtue, which we " commonly call the *law of nature*; this being " every whit as much the *law of* GOD, as the re- " velation of his will in his word; and conſe- " quently nothing contained in the word of GOD, " or in any pretended revelation from him, can " be interpreted to diſſolve the obligation of " moral duties plainly required by the law of " nature. And if this one thing were but well " conſidered, it would be an effectual antidote " againſt the pernicious doctrines of the *Anti-* " *nomians*, and of all other *Libertines* whatſo- " ever; nothing being more incredible, than " that *divine revelation* ſhould contradict the clear " and unqueſtionable dictates of *natural light*; " nor any thing more vain than to fanſy, that " the *grace of* GOD does releaſe men from the " law of nature." This Biſhop WILKINS was very ſenſible of, and wiſely ſaw of what conſequence it was to eſtabliſh the principles and duties of religion upon their true and natural foundation; which is ſo far from being a prejudice to divine revelation, that it prepares the way for it,

and

and gives it greater advantage and authority over the minds of men. The *third* point of his deſign was to perſuade men to the practice of religion, and the virtues of a good life, by ſhewing how natural and direct an influence they have, not only upon our future bleſſedneſs in another world, but even upon the happineſs and proſperity of this preſent life. "And ſurely, *con-* "*cludes the Dean*, nothing is more likely to "prevail with wiſe and conſiderate men to be- "come religious, than to be thoroughly con- "vinced, that *religion* and *happineſs*, our *duty* "and our *intereſt*, are really but one and the "ſame thing conſidered under ſeveral notions."

The year 1676 deprived the Dean of one of his moſt valuable friends, Sir MATTHEW HALE, who after having filled the place of one of the Juſtices of the Common-pleas under the protector CROMWELL, and during the ſeveral changes of government till the reſtoration, and after that of Lord-chief-baron of the Exchequer, and Lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, had reſigned the laſt poſt on account of his age and infirmities on the 21ſt of *February* $167\frac{5}{6}$, and died on the *Chriſtmas*-day following in the 67th year of his age, with the higheſt reputation for integrity, and abilities in his profeſſion, in which his writings have raiſed him a character equal to his greateſt predeceſſors, and will always be eſteemed as containing the beſt rationale of the grounds of the law of *England*. Nor was he an inconſiderable maſter of polite, philoſophical, and eſpecially theological learning, however under-rated in theſe reſpects by a late writer [e], evidently byaſs'd

[e] Life of the Lord-Keeper NORTH, by ROGER NORTH, Eſq; *p.* 63.

byaſs'd by party prejudices; his treatiſe upon *the Origination of mankind* ſhewing a great force of reaſoning, and an equal compaſs of knowledge. This work, deſigned to evince the creation of the world, and the truth of the Moſaical hiſtory, was part of a larger confutation of Atheiſm, and proof of Chriſtianity; which, as ſoon as finiſhed, he ſent by an unknown hand to Biſhop WILKINS for his judgment, but with no other account of the writer than that he was not a clergyman. The Biſhop and Dr. TILLOTSON having read a great deal of it with much ſatisfaction, were abſolutely at a loſs in their conjectures about the author, and how a perſon furniſh'd with ſuch talents of reaſoning, and ſuch a variety of learning, ſhould be ſo unknown to them, that they could not find him out by theſe characters, which are ſo little common. At laſt Dr. TILLOTSON fixing upon the Lord-chief-baron HALE, the Biſhop immediately agreed to his opinion, wondering that himſelf had been ſo long in finding it out. Upon which they both went to him; and the Biſhop thanking him for the entertainment, which he had received from his manuſcript, he bluſhed extremely, not without ſome diſpleaſure, apprehending that the perſon, whom he had truſted, had diſcovered him. But the Biſhop ſoon cleared that point, and told him, that he had diſcovered himſelf; for the learning of that book was ſo various, that none but he could be the author of it. And that prelate having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and perſons, which perhaps few ever managed with ſo much plainneſs and prudence, told him, that there was nothing could be better ſaid on the ſubject, if he could bring it into a

leſs compaſs; but if he had not leiſure for that, he thought it much better to have the book come out, tho' a little too large, than that the world ſhould be deprived of the advantage of it. But tho' his Lordſhip had never the opportunity of reviſing it; yet a little before his death he ſent the firſt part of it to the preſs [f].

The Dean's eminence of character, as well as the perſonal obligations of the writer, produced a dedication to him in 1677, of *A brief diſcourſe upon the offices of baptiſm, catechiſm, and confirmation*, by THOMAS COMBER M. A. afterwards Doctor of divinity, and Præcentor of *York*, and promoted to the Deanry of *Durham* in *April* 1697, which he enjoyed to his death on the 25th of *November* 1699, in the 55th year of his age. Mr. COMBER begins his dedication obſerving, that he did not imagine, that he ſhould diſcharge thoſe obligations, which the Dean's goodneſs had laid upon him, but rather increaſe them, by preſenting thoſe little tracts to him: "For it "will, *ſays he*, contribute to their reputation to "be uſhered in with ſo worthy a name, and add "to their author's character to be reckoned "among the number of your friends. So that "if this tender be accepted but as the teſti-"mony of my gratitude, I ſhall confeſs my-"ſelf to be your debtor ſtill ..... I hope they "are ſo done, that they may be honoured with "your approbation, as well as your name; for "then they will be effectually recommended to "all the judicious, and rāiſed above the cenſures "of the leſs deſerving."

The

[f] Life of Sir MATTHEW HALE, by Dr. BURNET, *p.* 49—52. *edit.* 1682.

The riſe of his intereſt with the Prince and Princeſs of ORANGE, with the conſequence of it in his advancement to the See of *Canterbury*, has been aſcribed to an incident, which is ſuppoſed to have happen'd in the year 1677, and is thus repreſented by one of our hiſtorians [g], as drawn from a manuſcript account taken from Archbiſhop TILLOTSON's own mouth: That the match between that Prince and Princeſs being made upon political views againſt the will of the Duke of YORK, and not with the hearty liking of the King, the *country party*, as they were then call'd, were exceedingly pleas'd and elevated; and after the Lord Mayor's feaſt [h], a ſecret deſign was laid to invite the new-married couple into the city to a public and ſolemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bridegroom and bride, as faſt as they could, out of town; ſo that they departed with ſuch precipitation, that they had ſcarce time to make any proviſion for their journey. Their ſervants and baggage went by way of *Harwich*, but the Prince and Princeſs by *Canterbury* road, where they were to lie till the wind was fair, and the yatch ready to ſail with them. Being arriv'd at *Canterbury*, they repaired to an inn; and no good care being taken in their haſte to ſeparate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Monſieur BENTINCK, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow ſome plate and money of the corporation for their accommodation; but upon grave deliberation the Mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either.

Dr.

[g] ECHARD's Hiſtory of *England*, appendix, *p.* 11.
[h] *October* 29.

Dr. TILLOTSON, Dean of *Canterbury*, at that time in reſidence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other, that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas, and all other neceſſaries for them, and went directly to the inn to Monſ. BENTINCK, and offer'd him all that he had got; and withal complain'd, that they did not come to the Deanry, where the royal family us'd to lodge, and heartily invited them ſtill to go thither, where they might be ſure of a better accommodation. This laſt they declin'd; but the money, plate, and the reſt were highly acceptable to them. Upon this the Dean was carried to wait upon the Prince and Princeſs; and his great intereſt ſoon brought others to attend upon them. "By "this lucky accident, *adds the account*, he began "that acquaintance and the correſpondence with "the Prince and Monſ. BENTINCK, which year-"ly increas'd to the very revolution, when both "Monſ. BENTINCK had great occaſion for him "and his friends on his own account, as well as "the Prince himſelf, when he arriv'd at the "crown. And this was the true ſecret ground, "on which the Biſhop of *London* (whoſe qua-"lity and ſervices ſeem'd to intitle him without "a rival to the Archbiſhopric) was yet ſet aſide, "and Dr. TILLOTSON advanc'd over his head." But this ſolemn and circumſtantial ſtory, when examin'd, will be found liable to great exceptions: for, not to anticipate what will in the courſe of this life be produc'd from unqueſtionable evidence concerning the true cauſes and circumſtances of our Dean's advancement to the Archbiſhopric, it will be ſufficient at preſent to point out ſome miſtakes in the other parts of

the narrative cited by the hiſtorian. For the Prince and Princeſs of ORANGE were far from *being hurried out of town* after the Lord Mayor's feaſt on the 29th of *October* 1677, or their own marriage, which was perform'd by Dr. HENRY COMPTON Biſhop of *London*, who claim'd that office at *St. James's*, in the preſence of the King, and Duke and Ducheſs of YORK, and ſome of the chief nobility, on *Sunday November* the 4th, being the birth-day of the Prince of ORANGE [i]; for the new-married couple did not leave *Whitehall* till *Monday* morning the 19th of that month. And inſtead of taking the road to *Canterbury*, *where they were to lie, till the wind was fair, and the yatch ready to ſail with them*, they were accompanied by his Majeſty and the Duke of YORK as far as *Erith*, where the Prince and Princeſs went on board the yatchs appointed to convey them to *Holland* [k]. Being detain'd at *Sheerneſs* by contrary winds, the King ſent an expreſs to them to return to *London*; and they went aſhore there, lodging at the houſe of Col. DORREL the governor; and the next day, being *Friday* the 23d of *November*, went from thence to *Canterbury*, the Prince taking with him Monſ. BENTINCK, Monſ. ODYCK, and Count HORN, and the Princeſs being attended thither by the Counteſs of INCHIQUIN, and one of her dreſſers. During their ſtay at *Canterbury* the Prince was complimented by all the gentlemen of the country, and preſented by them with abundance

[i] MS. Diary of public tranſactions, in the poſſeſſion of the Right Honourable THOMAS Lord Viſcount WEYMOUTH, and Gazette, N° 1249. from *Monday, Novemb.* 5. to *Thurſday, Novemb.* 8. 1677. [k] Gazette, N° 1253. from *Monday, Nov.* 19. to *Thurſday, Nov.* 22. 1677. and MS. Diary.

dance of proviſions of all ſorts for his table; and on *Sunday* he went to the cathedral, where he heard the whole divine ſervice and a ſermon [l]. The other circumſtances of what is affirm'd to have paſs'd at their arrival at *Canterbury* in reſpect to the want of neceſſaries, and the corporation's refuſal to ſupply them, and the Dean's aſſiſtance, which would never be wanting upon ſuch occaſion, muſt be left upon the authority of Mr. ECHARD's narrative. The Prince and Princeſs left that city on *Monday* morning, *Novemb.* 26, and went that night on board the *Montagu*, commanded by Sir JOHN HOLMES, in *Margate-Road*, who on *Wedneſday* the 28th ſet ſail, and landed them in *Holland* the next day [m].

The high eſteem, which that inexhauſtible genius Dr. ISAAC BARROW, Maſter of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, had for our Dean, induced him to leave his manuſcripts to the care of a friend ſo capable of bringing them into the world with all poſſible advantage. And having during his laſt illneſs, and not long before his death, which happened on the fourth of *May* 1677, given him a particular permiſſion to print his *Treatiſe of the Pope's ſupremacy*, the Dean accordingly prepared it for the preſs, and publiſhed it in 1680 at *London* in Quarto, with a preface, in which he obſerves, that whoever ſhall carefully peruſe that diſcourſe, will find, that this point of the Pope's ſupremacy (upon which BELLARMIN hath the confidence to ſay *the whole of Chriſtianity depends*) is not only an indefenſible, but an impudent cauſe, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. "And nothing, *adds the Dean*, "could have kept it ſo long from being ridicu-

[l] MS. Diary. [m] Ibid.

" lous in the judgment of mankind, but its be-
" ing ſo ſtrongly ſupported by a worldly intereſt.
" For there is not one tolerable argument for it;
" and there are a thouſand invincible reaſons
" againſt it." To this diſcourſe he added another of Dr. BARROW, *Concerning the unity of the church*, in which the Doctor ſo explains it, as quite to take away the neceſſity of a viſible head over the whole church for the preſervation of its unity; " which is, ſays Dr. TILLOTSON, the only
" ſpecious, but yet a very remote pretence for
" the Pope's ſupremacy: for if a viſible monarch
" of the church were granted neceſſary, many
" things muſt be ſuppoſed (which neither yet
" are, nor ever can be proved) to make the
" Biſhop of *Rome* the man."

The ſudden death of his ſecond brother, Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, by a vomiting of blood, on the 16th of *September* 1678, affected him in a very ſenſible manner; and being unwilling to ſhock his father, then at his houſe at *Sowerby*, with the abrupt communication of it, wrote the ſame day to his kinſman Mr. TIMOTHY BENTLEY, deſiring him to acquaint him with the loſs of his ſon, and to intreat him " to bear it with
" patience, and ſubmiſſion to the will of GOD,
" and to comfort himſelf, as I, *ſays he*, deſire
" to do, with the hope of meeting and enjoying
" him in a better life [n]."

About this time he ſucceeded in his endeavours to ſerve Mr. GEORGE BULL, afterwards Biſhop of *St. David's*, then only Rector of *Siddington St. Mary*, and Vicar of *Siddington St. Peter*, near *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire*, though known to the

[n] Original letter of the Dean, dated at *London*, *Sept.* 16. 1678, communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. JOHN TILLOTSON, ſurmaſter of St. *Paul's* ſchool.

the public by his *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, publiſhed in 1669, and his *Examen Cenſuræ* in 1676. For he procured a Prebend of *Glouceſter* for Mr. BULL [o], who was inſtalled into it on the 9th of *October* 1678, from the Lord-chancellor FINCH, afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*, who gave the ſame year another inſtance of his regard for learning, by preferring in that cathedral Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, whoſe *Intellectual ſyſtem of the univerſe* has raiſed him a reputation, to which nothing can add, but the publication of his other writings ſtill extant in manuſcript [p].

The diſcovery of the Popiſh plot in *September* 1678, of which the reality, or at leaſt extent has been ſince treated as one of the greateſt problems in hiſtory, having given great alarm to the Parliament, which met on the 21ſt of *October*, a few days after the murder of Sir EDMUNDBURY GODFREY, the Dean was appointed to preach before the Houſe of Commons on the 5th of *November* following. His text was *Luke* ix. 55, 56. and the deſign of his diſcourſe is to ſhew, that a revengeful, and cruel, and deſtructive ſpirit is directly contrary to the deſign and temper of the Goſpel, and not to be excuſed upon any pretence of zeal for GOD and religion. In the concluſion he makes an application of that doctrine to the occaſion of the day, by expoſing the principles and practices of the church of *Rome*, and particularly in the Gun-powder-treaſon plot,

[o] WOOD. Athen. Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 954. Mr. NELSON *in his* Life of Biſhop BULL, *p.* 276—280. mentions nothing of the Dean of *Canterbury*'s endeavours in obtaining that Prebend for him.

[p] See the titles of them in the *life of Dr* CUDWORTH, prefix'd to the 2d edit. of his *Intellect. Syſtem, London*, 1743, in 4to. *p.* xix, xx.

avow'd by the authors of it, who expreſſed a concern for its ill ſucceſs, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir EVERARD DIGBY, then in the Dean's hands. He willingly acknowledges the great piety and charity of ſeveral perſons, who had lived and died in the communion of that church, as ERASMUS, Father PAUL, THUANUS, and many others, "who had, "*ſays he*, in truth more goodneſs, than the "principles of that religion do either incline "men to, or allow of." He declares, that it was not his intention to exaſperate the Houſe of Commons to any *unreaſonable* or *unneceſſary*, much leſs *unchriſtian* ſeverities againſt the Papiſts. "No, *adds he*, let us not do like them. Let "us never do any thing for religion, that is "contrary to it. But I ſpeak it to awake your "care thus far, that if their prieſts will always "be putting theſe pernicious principles into the "minds of the people, effectual proviſion may "be made, that it may never be in their power "again to put them in practice." He then touches upon the late diſcovery of the plot, and the *treacherous murder* of Sir EDMUNBURY GODFREY, *a very good man, and a moſt excellent magiſtrate*, who had been *active* in that diſcovery. He cloſes with alledging, that if he had been tranſported by this ſubject ſomewhat beyond his uſual temper, the occaſion of that day, and the circumſtances of the time would, he hop'd, bear him out. "I can truly ſay, *continues he*, as the "*Roman* orator did of himſelf upon another occaſion, *me natura miſericordem, patria ſeverum*; "*crudelem nec patria nec natura eſſe voluit*. My "nature inclines me to be tender and compaſſionate. A hearty zeal for our religion, and

"con-

" concernment for the public welfare of my " country, may perhaps have made me a little " ſevere: but neither my natural diſpoſition, " nor the temper of the *Engliſh* nation, nor the " genius of the Proteſtant, that is, the true Chri- " ſtian religion, will allow me to be cruel."

He had not long after this an occaſion to improve theſe conſiderations concerning the nature and tendency of Popery, to the diſengaging a young nobleman of great parts from the profeſſion of it, in which he had been educated. This was CHARLES Earl of *Shrewſbury*, created a Duke by King WILLIAM, to whom he was Secretary of State, having had a conſiderable ſhare in the revolution; and in the latter end of whoſe reign he retir'd to *Italy* for his health, where he continued till about the year 1710, when he return'd to *England*, and join'd the new miniſtry; notwithſtanding which he was again made Lord-Chamberlain to King GEORGE I, as he had been to Queen ANNE, and died on the firſt of *February* $171\frac{7}{8}$. His Lordſhip was led into an inquiry into his firſt religion by the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot; and was ſoon made ſenſible of its errors and corruptions by ſo thorough a maſter of that ſubject as the Dean of *Canterbury*, whom he attended for the firſt time at the public worſhip in *Lincoln's-Inn Chapel*, on *Sunday* the 4th of *May* 1679 [q]. The Dean's concern for the Earl induc'd him afterwards, upon being inform'd of his Lordſhip's being engag'd in a converſation, which might prove dangerous to his virtue as well as his character, to write to him the following letter, which is a maſter-piece for the elegance

[q] MS. Diary of public tranſactions, in the poſſeſſion of the right honourable THOMAS Lord Viſcount WEYMOUTH.

elegance and politeneſs, as well as force and pathos of the remonſtrance.

" MY LORD,

" IT was a great ſatisfaction to me to be any " ways inſtrumental in the gaining your " Lordſhip to our religion, which I am really " perſuaded to be the truth. But I am, and " always was more concern'd, that your Lord- " ſhip would continue a virtuous and good man, " than become a Proteſtant, being aſſured, that " the ignorance and errors of mens underſtand- " ing will find a much eaſier forgiveneſs with " GOD, than the faults of the will. I remem- " ber, that your Lordſhip once told me, that " you would endeavour to juſtify the ſincerity " of your change by a conſcientious regard to " all other parts and actions of your life. I am " ſure you cannot more effectually condemn " your own act than by being a worſe man after " your profeſſion to have embrac'd a better reli- " gion. I will certainly be one of the laſt to be- " lieve any thing of your Lordſhip, that is not " good; but I always feared, I ſhould be one " of the firſt, that ſhould hear it. The time I " laſt waited upon your Lordſhip, I had heard " ſomething, that afflicted me very ſenſibly; " but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore " loth to trouble your Lordſhip about it. But " having heard the ſame from thoſe, who, I " believe, bear no ill-will to your Lordſhip, I " now think it my duty to acquaint you with it. " To ſpeak plainly, I have been told, that your " Lordſhip is of late fallen into a converſation " dangerous both to your reputation and virtue,

" two

" two of the tendereſt and deareſt things in the
" world. I believe your Lordſhip to have a
" great command and conduct of yourſelf; but
" I am very ſenſible of human frailty, and of
" the dangerous temptations, to which youth
" is expoſed in this diſſolute age. Therefore I
" earneſtly beſeech your Lordſhip to conſider,
" beſides the high provocation of Almighty
" God, and the hazard of your ſoul, when-
" ever you engage in a bad courſe, what a
" blemiſh you will bring upon a fair and un-
" ſpotted reputation; what uneaſineſs and trou-
" ble you will create to yourſelf from the ſevere
" reflections of a guilty conſcience; and how
" great a violence you will offer to your good
" principles, your nature, and your education,
" and to a mind the beſt made for virtuous and
" worthy things. And do not imagine you can
" ſtop when you pleaſe. Experience ſhews us
" the contrary, and that nothing is more vain,
" than for men to think they can ſet bounds to
" themſelves in any thing that is bad. I hope in
" God, no temptation has yet prevailed on your
" Lordſhip ſo far as to be guilty of any looſe
" act. If it has, as you love your ſoul, let it
" not proceed to an habit. The retreat is yet
" eaſy and open, but will every day become
" more difficult and obſtructed. God is ſo
" merciful, that upon your repentance and re-
" ſolution of amendment, he is not only ready
" to forgive what is paſt, but to aſſiſt us by
" his grace to do better for the future. But I
" need not inforce theſe conſiderations upon a
" mind ſo capable of, and eaſy to receive good
" counſel. I ſhall only deſire your Lordſhip to
" think again and again, how great a point of

" wiſdom it is, in all our actions, to conſult " the peace of our minds, and to have no quar- " rel with the conſtant and inſeparable compa- " nion of our lives. If others diſpleaſe us, we " may quit their company; but he, that is diſ- " pleaſed with himſelf, is unavoidably unhappy, " becauſe he has no way to get rid of himſelf.

" My Lord, for GOD's ſake, and your own, " think of being happy, and reſolve by all means " to ſave yourſelf from this untoward genera- " tion. Determine rather upon a ſpeedy change " of your condition, than to gratify the inclina- " tions of your youth in any thing but what is " lawful and honourable; and let me have the " ſatisfaction to be aſſured from your Lord- " ſhip, either that there has been no ground for " this report; or that there ſhall be none for " the future; which will be the welcomeſt news " to me in the world. I have only to beg of " your Lordſhip to believe, that I have not " done this to ſatisfy the formality of my pro- " feſſion; but that it proceeds from the trueſt " affection and good-will, that one man can " poſſibly bear to another. I pray GOD every " day for your Lordſhip with the ſame con- " ſtancy and fervor as for myſelf, and do moſt " earneſtly beg, that this counſel may be accept- " able and effectual.

" I am, *&c.*"

Dr. GILBERT BURNET, who had contracted an intimate friendſhip with our Dean in his firſt journey to *England* in 1663[r], having finiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, the firſt volume of which

[r] See the life of Biſhop BURNET, ſubjoin'd to the IId vol. of the hiſtory of his own time, *p.* 676.

which was publiſh'd in 1679, as the ſecond was in 1681, he ſubmitted the manuſcript of the whole work to his peruſal and correction, as well as to that of Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, then Dean of *Bangor*, and ſoon after Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, and Dr. STILLINGFLEET, promoted to the Deanry of *St. Paul*'s in the room of Dr. WILLIAM SANCROFT, advanc'd to the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury* in *January* 167$\frac{7}{8}$. And Dr. BURNET in his *preface* to that *Hiſtory*, which is one of the moſt valuable in our own or any other language, returns his acknowledgments upon that account to *theſe three great Divines*, "whoſe lives, *ſays he*, are ſuch "examples, their ſermons ſuch inſtructions, their "writings ſuch unanſwerable vindications of our "church, and their whole deportment ſo ſuitable to their profeſſion, that, as I reckon my "being admitted into ſome meaſure of friendſhip with them among the chief bleſſings of "my life, ſo I know nothing can more effectually recommend this work, than to ſay, that "it paſſed with their hearty approbation, after "they had examined it with that care, which "their great zeal for the cauſe concerned in it, "and their goodneſs to the author, and freedom "with him, obliged them to uſe."

The publication of this hiſtory was a moſt ſeaſonable ſervice to the nation amidſt the alarms of Popery. And the ſame reaſon induced the Dean to take all opportunities to oppoſe the progreſs of that religion, eſpecially at court, whence the greateſt danger of it was then apprehended. Being called upon therefore unexpectedly to preach out of his turn before the King at *Whitehall* on the 2d of *April* 1680, he took for his text *Joſh.* xxiv. 15. and his ſermon was ſoon after publiſhed

publiſhed by his Majeſty's ſpecial command at *London* in 4to, under the title of *The Proteſtant religion vindicated from the charge of ſingularity and novelty*. But this diſcourſe, tho' an excellent and judicious one in the main parts of it, yet contained ſome incidental aſſertions, which gave no ſmall offence to many both of the church and diſſenting communions, particularly the following paſſage[s]: "I cannot think (till I be better "informed, which I am always ready to be) that "any pretence of conſcience warrants any man, "that is not extraordinarily commiſſion'd as the "Apoſtles and firſt publiſhers of the Goſpel "were, and cannot juſtify that commiſſion by "miracles, as they did, to affront the eſtabliſhed "religion of a nation, though it be falſe, and "openly to draw men off from the profeſſion "of it, in contempt of the magiſtrate and the "law. All that perſons of a different religion "can in ſuch a caſe reaſonably pretend to, is "to enjoy the private liberty and exerciſe of "their own conſcience and religion, for which "they ought to be very thankful, and to for-"bear the open making of proſelytes to their "own religion (tho' they be never ſo ſure, that "they are in the right) till they have either an "extraordinary commiſſion from GOD to that "purpoſe, or the providence of GOD make way "for it by the permiſſion of the magiſtrate." Dr. HICKES ſtiles[t] this downright *Hobbiſm*; and tells us, that a witty Lord[u] ſtanding at the King's elbow, when it was delivered, ſaid, "Sir, Sir, "do you hear Mr. HOBBES in the pulpit?" and that Dr. GUNNING, Biſhop of *Ely*, complained

[s] *P.* 11, 12. *edit.* 1680. [t] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 48.

[u] Mr. LESLIE *in his* Charge of Socinianiſm againſt TILLOTSON conſidered, *p.* 13. ſays, that it was the *E.* of *D.*

plained of it in the Houſe of Lords, as a doctrine, that would ſerve the turn of Popery. He cites likewiſe the following extract of a letter of Dr. SIMON PATRICK, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*, to Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, then Archdeacon of *Canterbury*: " A paſſage, I aſſure you, which " I and ſome of our common acquaintance read " not without a great deal of trouble, when we " firſt ſaw it. . . . They think it would be well " to admoniſh him in a letter of this error, and " to repreſent the conſequences of it to him, " expoſing his opinion. . . . It is plain by an- " other paſſage in that ſermon, that he was not " awake, nor had his wits about him, as he uſed " to have, when he wrote it. The place I mean " is page 9. There the very exiſtence of a GOD " may be thought to be called into queſtion by " him, and to be in his account but a politic " invention. For thus he writes, preſſing reli- " gion as the ſtrongeſt band of human ſociety: " *God is ſo neceſſary to the welfare and happi-* " *neſs of mankind, as* [w] *if the being of God him-* " *ſelf had been purpoſely deſigned and contrived* " *for the benefit and advantage of men.* In which " his meaning is ſo untowardly expreſſed, that " you cannot but think he was indiſpoſed, when " he wrote ſo untowardly. He hath altered this " paſſage, I hear, in the ſecond edition; but ſo " it is, as I have received it in that, which he " ſent me at its firſt coming out. And indeed " that parentheſis in the firſt part of the ſermon " *(till I be better informed)* ſhews he was in too " great haſte at leaſt, when he compoſed it; elſe " he would never have adventured to deliver " his

[w] The words in the firſt edition are, *as he could not have been more if we could ſuppoſe the being*, &c.

" his opinion in a matter of ſuch moment, till " he had been better informed of its truth. . . " I do not write this out of any change there " is in my mind concerning perſons or things, " having the very ſame thoughts I had when " you and I converſed more frequently together, " but the lamentable caſe of things. . . I can- " not but have a love to Dr. TILLOTSON's perſon, " tho' I have none for his opinion. I therefore " would gladly have him well treated, tho' he " be never ſo ſharply reproved." Dr. HICKES adds, that Dr. PATRICK confirmed all this to Dr. PARKER, when he met the latter in *London*, and ſaid, that Dr. TILLOTSON ought to give ſatisfaction by a retractation, or elſe be expoſed. " If he will not, *ſays he*, be reduced, he ought " to have no mercy, but to be hunted out of the " Chriſtian church, when he will not own it."

The Dean's doctrine was likewiſe animadverted upon by Mr. SIMON LOWTH, Vicar of *Coſmus Blene* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, in his treatiſe, *Of the ſubject of church-power, in whom it reſides, its force, extent, and execution, that it oppoſes not civil government in any one inſtance of it*, printed at *London* 1685 in 8vo. This diſcourſe had been ſeen in manuſcript by the Dean and his friend Dr. STILLINGFLEET, who was alſo ſeverely reflected upon in it for his *Irenicum*; and the author called upon them by a letter, printed afterwards in the preface to that book, to retract their own opinions, or to confute his. But the Dean of *Canterbury* did not think proper to take the leaſt public notice of ſo confuſed and unintelligible a writer [x], whoſe ſtile is a mere jargon,

[x] Dr. STILLINGFLEET made ſome remarks on Mr. LOWTH's book in his epiſtle dedicatory prefix'd to his ſermon, preach'd

gon, though Dr. HICKES [y] is pleaſed to ſtile him *a very orthodox and learned divine*, and his book an *excellent* one; and King JAMES II. had ſo great a regard for him, as to nominate him to the Deanry of *Rocheſter* in the latter end of *October* 1688, which Mr. LOWTH could not obtain poſſeſſion of for want of the degree of Doctor of divinity, before that King's abdication [z].

But it will be now requiſite to ſee, how the Dean's poſition above-mentioned was received by the Non-conformiſts. Dr. CALAMY's account is [a], that King CHARLES II. having ſlept moſt part of the time while the ſermon was delivered, a certain nobleman ſtepp'd up to him, as ſoon as it was over, and ſaid, "'Tis pity your Ma-"jeſty ſlept; for we had the rareſt piece of "*Hobbiſm*, that ever you heard in your life." *Ods fiſh, he ſhall print it then*, anſwered the King, and immediately called the Lord-chamberlain, and gave him his command to the Dean to print his ſermon. When it came from the preſs, the Dean ſent it as a preſent (as he uſually did moſt of the pieces, which he publiſh'd) to Mr. JOHN HOWE, one of the moſt learned among the Non-conformiſt miniſters, and who had been chaplain to the Protector OLIVER CROMWELL. Mr. HOWE imme-

preach'd at a public ordination at *St. Peter's Cornhill, March* 15th, 168$\frac{4}{5}$. To which Mr. LOWTH replied in a letter to him, printed in 1687, in 4to.

[y] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 48.

[z] WOOD. Faſti Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 138.

[a] Memoirs of the life of Mr. JOHN HOWE, *p.* 75, 76. *edit. London*, 1724, *in* 8*vo.* Dr. CALAMY ſays, *p.* 78. that the perſon, from whom he had the ſtory, committed it to writing preſently after he had received it from Mr. HOWE himſelf.

immediately peruſed it, and was not a little troubled to find a notion there of ſo ill a tendency. Upon this he drew up a long letter, in which he freely expoſtulated with the Dean for giving ſuch a wound to the reformation, intimating to him, that LUTHER and CALVIN, and the reſt of our reformers were (thanks be to God) of another mind. The Chriſtian religion, ſays he, both as to its precepts and promiſes is already confirmed by miracles: And muſt it be repeated every time a wicked governor thinks fit to eſtabliſh a falſe religion? Muſt no one ſtand up for the true religion, till he can work a miracle? He ſignified to him, how much he was griev'd, that, in a ſermon againſt Popery, he ſhould plead the Popiſh cauſe againſt all the reformers; and inſiſted upon, that we had inconteſtable evidence of the miracles wrought by the Apoſtles, and that we are bound to believe them, and take religion to be eſtabliſhed by them without any farther expectations. Mr. HOWE carried the letter himſelf, and delivered it into the Dean's own hands; and he taking a general and curſory view of it, ſignified his willingneſs to talk that whole matter freely over; but ſaid they could not be together where they were without interruption, and therefore moved for a little journey into the country, that ſo they might have freedom of diſcourſe. They accordingly agreed to go and dine that day with the Lady FALCONBRIDGE, and Mr. HOWE read over the letter to the Dean, and inlarged upon the contents of it, as they were travelling along together in his chariot. The Dean at length fell to weeping freely, and ſaid, that this was the moſt unhappy thing, that had a long time befallen him; and

that

that he ſaw, what he had offered was not to be maintained. But he told him, that it was not his turn to preach as on that day; but the perſon, who was to have done that office, falling ſick, the Dean was ſent to by the Lord-chamberlain to ſupply his place. He added, that he had but little notice, and ſo conſidered the general fears of Popery, and his text offering itſelf, he thought the notion reſulted from it. "And, "*ſaid he*, immediately after preaching I received "a command from the King to print the ſer-"mon; and then it was not in my power to "alter it." It was probably one of the Non-conformiſts, and no inconſiderable writer among them, who, ſoon after the publication of the Dean's ſermon, printed in 4to *Short animadverſions upon it, ſo far as the ſaid ſermon aſſerteth the power of the magiſtrate in things of religion over his ſubjects, the ſame with that of a maſter of a family over his family. The unlawfulneſs of preaching the true religion by miniſters, where a falſe religion is eſtabliſhed by law, without an extraordinary commiſſion confirmed by miracles; and the hypocriſy of ſuch miniſters, as think themſelves obliged to preach Chriſt (tho' contrary to a law) in their own country, becauſe they do not go and do the ſame in* Turky *or* Spain. *All which aſſertions are ſhortly examined. The firſt proved to be uncertainly true. The ſecond condemning the practice of all the firſt miniſters of the Goſpel after the Apoſtles; and of thoſe, that have laboured in reformation. The third moſt uncharitable and groundleſs.* This piece is written with the utmoſt civility to the Dean, whom the author acquits of any thought of encouraging a perſecution of Proteſtant-diſſenters, at a time, when it was the moſt adviſeable

viſeable project for the Popiſh deſign imaginable, "because, *ſays the animadverter* [b], he hath appeared to the world ſuch an eminent aſſertor "of the true religion againſt Popery; and as he "is a man of judgment and learning above "thouſands of others, ſo he hath always appeared a man of temper and exceeding great "moderation." He declares [c] himſelf likewiſe ſo far from the baſe diſingenuity of thoſe, who can ſee nothing good in their adverſaries, that tho' he thought himſelf obliged to enter his diſſent to ſome things ſaid by the Dean concerning the *power of the magiſtrate* in matters of religion, and the *force of ſome human laws* prohibiting men to preach the Goſpel; yet he was ſo far pleaſed with the reſt of the diſcourſe, that "I do, *ſays* "*he*, for myſelf, and I dare venture in the name "of all Diſſenters, to give him thanks for what "he hath ſaid in it in defence of the *Proteſtant* "*religion* (that *Hogen-mogen* thing, as a late "*Dialogiſt*, who would be thought a Proteſtant, "is pleaſed to call it) and to aver, that if there "were no more ſaid by any in the world to "loath people of that religion, and make it an "abhorrence to all good princes and all good "men, than he hath ſaid in 13 or 14 lines, p. "31. nor any more ſaid than he hath ſaid to "baffle their Popiſh arguments from *univerſality* "and *antiquity*, yet there needed no more; for "all the Papiſts on earth can never either wipe "off the firſt, or anſwer the latter." The *animadverter* then remarks [d], that all, that he had to enter his diſſent to, lies in five pages, the 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. of the Dean's ſermon; nor ſhould he have done that, if he had not judg'd, that by

[b] *P.* 1. [c] *P.* 2, 3. [d] *P.* 4, 5.

by ſome aſſertions in them the magiſtrate is warranted, if not in the ſlaying, yet in the baniſhment or ſevere puniſhing of his ſubjects diſſenting, not in the eſſentials of religion, but only in the circumſtantials, yet ſuch, as in the doing, or not doing of them aright, the ſoul may become guilty before God: And alſo that by thoſe aſſertions, whoſoever ſucceeded the Apoſtles in the plantation of the Goſpel, in countries where a falſe religion was before eſtabliſh'd by a law; and all thoſe glorious martyrs, who had ſuffered for publiſhing the Goſpel in *England*, while Popery was here eſtabliſhed by law, or in other countries; "and ſo, *continues he*, all the "firſt reformers, are moſt inconſiderately con-"demn'd, as doing that they had no right, no "authority to do; and all thoſe divines con-"demned for *hypocrites*, who take themſelves "bound in their native country, and to their "neighbourhood, under a neceſſity to preach "the Goſpel, and cannot think, that they have "an equal obligation upon them to traverſe the "world, to make the Goſpel abound, from "*London* to *Conſtantinople*, *Rome*, or *Madrid*." He aſſents to the main propoſition of the Dean, p. 9, *&c.* that "to countenance and ſupport the "true religion, and to take care, that the peo-"ple be inſtructed in it, and that none be per-"mitted to debauch and ſeduce men from it, "properly belongs to the civil magiſtrate:" but then proceeds to his exceptions againſt ſome of the ſubſequent paſſages in the ſermon. And the Dean himſelf thought proper to review it, and to publiſh a new edition of it the ſame year, tho' without taking notice in the title-page, that it was a ſecond edition; in which he made an alte-

ration or two in the paſſages excepted to; particularly in that, where in the former edition he ſpake of religion's being *the ſtrongeſt band of human ſociety*, and *ſo neceſſary to the welfare and happineſs of mankind*, as he *could not have been more*, &c. he changed the word *he* into *it*; and in p. 12. after the word *permiſſion*, he added [or connivance] *of the magiſtrate*. Theſe alterations were preſerved in all the ſubſequent editions, and in the firſt in 8vo, in the third volume of his ſermons in 1686, Sermon IX. he added a paragraph of near a page after the words *permiſſion or connivance of the magiſtrate*, beginning thus, "not but that every man hath a right, *&c.*" and ending with the word *ſufferings*.

The *animadverſions* abovementioned came to his hands while he was in reſidence at *Canterbury*, in *July* 1680; but they did not *ſeem to him very conſiderable*, as he wrote on the 27th of that month to his friend ROBERT NELSON, Eſq;. "However, *added he*, I am ſorry, that any "thing of mine ſhould occaſion ſo much talk "and noiſe." This letter is the earlieſt in date of the collection now before me [e], written by the Dean to that gentleman, whoſe friendſhip for the former, notwithſtanding the difference of their political ſentiments after the revolution, is equally honourable to them both. This letter is in anſwer to one from Mr. NELSON, containing his acknowledgments for the civilities ſhewn him during his ſtay with the Dean, whom he had lately viſited at *Canterbury*; and ſhews how great ſhare that gentleman then had in the good

[e] Communicated to me by the late Rev. OBEDIAH HUGHES, D. D. who married the daughter of Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, uncle to Mr. NELSON.

good opinion of ſo able a judge of men. Mr. NELSON was at that time but four and twenty years of age, being born in *London* on the 22d of *June* 1656. He was ſon of Mr. JOHN NELSON, a conſiderable *Turky* merchant of that city, by DELICIÆ his wife, ſiſter of Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, who was likewiſe a *Turky* merchant, and a particular friend of Dr. TILLOTSON. His father dying when he was but two years old, he was committed to the care of his mother and her brother Sir GABRIEL, who was appointed his guardian, and by whom he was extremely belov'd, not only on account of his near relation, but alſo of his perſon, and temper, and the ſtrength and vivacity of his underſtanding even in his earlieſt years. His firſt education was at St. *Paul*'s ſchool in *London*; but the principal part of it was form'd under a private tutor in his mother's houſe [f], and likewiſe no leſs a man than Dr. GEORGE BULL, afterwards Biſhop of *St. David's*, and then Rector of *St. Mary Siddington*, with the Vicarage of *St. Peter* annex'd to it, near *Cirenceſter* in the county of *Gloceſter* [g], to whoſe memory Mr. NELSON return'd an ample tribute of gratitude and regard in the elaborate and inſtructive life [h], which he publiſhed of that great divine, his application to which is thought to have heightened the diſorder, under which he long laboured, an aſthma and dropſy in the breaſt, which proved fatal to him at the age of fifty-nine, on the 16th of

[f] Life of Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, *p.* 433, 434.

[g] Life of Dean COLET, by Dr. SAMUEL KNIGHT, *p.* 420, 421. and account of Mr. NELSON, *prefix'd to the* 19*th edit. of his* Companion for the feſtivals and feaſts of the church of *England*.

[h] Life of Biſhop BULL by Mr. NELSON, *p.* 2. 2*d edit.*

January 171$\frac{4}{5}$ at *Kenſington*, in the houſe of his couſin Mrs. WOLF, daughter of Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, and then a widow. His body was interr'd in the new burying-ground in *Lambs-conduit-fields*, where a monument is erected to him with an epitaph in *Latin*, written by the elegant pen of Dr. SMALRIDGE, Biſhop of *Briſtol*; and his funeral ſermon was preached in the chapel of *Ormond-ſtreet* on the 6th of *February* following, and ſoon after publiſhed, by Dr. JOHN MARSHAL, L. L. D. in which his character for learning, piety, charity, and humanity, is fully repreſented. He had adhered to the communion of the depriv'd Biſhops till the death of Dr. LLOYD Biſhop of *Norwich*, on the 1ſt of *January* 17$\frac{0}{10}$, which terminating in his and Mr. DODWELL's opinion, what they had before thought a ſchiſm, he joined in communion with the Biſhops, who had taken the oaths. His conduct in that reſpect was highly diſapproved of by Dr. HICKES, with whom as well as others of the moſt eminent Nonjurers he had cultivated the ſtricteſt intimacy; which will account for his profound ſilence with reſpect to his old friend Archbiſhop TILLOTSON in all his writings; Dr. HICKES being now his favourite writer, whom he repreſented[1] as *the moſt conſiderable reviver of primitive theology* in that age, and one who had *created ſuch a regard to antiquity*, as would preſerve the age from the *infection of Latitudinarian principles*.

The death of JOHN WILMOT Earl of *Rocheſter* at *Woodſtock-park* in *Oxfordſhire*, on the 26th of *July* 1680, preceded by a repentance equally remarkable with the unexampled profligacy of his conduct and principles, giving occaſion to

a

[1] Life of Biſhop BULL, *p.* 514, 515.

a letter of Mr. NELSON a few days after, the Dean begins his anſwer to it from *Canterbury* on the 2d of *Auguſt*, in theſe words: "Could I "have found any thing in myſelf to have juſti- "fied your kind opinion of me, I might have "taken the opportunity to have let a copy of "your letter ſlip abroad, under pretence of "publiſhing my Lord of *Rocheſter*'s repentance. "I am ſorry, that an example, which might "have been of ſo much uſe and advantage to "the world, is ſo ſoon taken from us. But "GOD had pity on him, and would not venture "him again in ſuch circumſtances of tempta- "tion, as were perhaps too hard for human "frailty." The caſe of his Lordſhip made as deep an impreſſion upon the Dean, as ſuch an uncommon event might be expected to do upon a mind turned and habituated ſo much to reflection upon every incident of importance; and he entered into his common-place book in ſhort-hand the following thoughts upon that occaſion:

"*Octob.* 1. 1680.

"My Lord of ROCHESTER,

"THE omnipotency of GOD's grace can "eaſily change any man, by letting in "light into his mind, and pouring in ſtrong "convictions into his conſcience. The greateſt "and moſt obſtinate minds, he, that made "them, how eaſily can he turn them, even the "hearts of Kings, as the rivers of water, which "follow the channel, that is made for them!

"An example encouraging enough to keep "any man from deſpair, but not ſtrong enough "to found an abſolute predeſtination of all upon.

"If

" If this great general and leader was ſo eaſily " conquered, and yielded up himſelf a willing " captive to the grace of GOD * *

" Bad men are infidels *ſe defendendo*. When " the affection to our luſts is gone, the objec- " tions againſt religion vaniſh of themſelves.

" Chooſe you and * *

" The greateſt inſtance any age hath afforded: " not for his own ſake, as St. PAUL was not, " who yet was no enemy to GOD and religion, " but by miſtake. I cannot think, but that it " was intended for ſome greater good to others.

" If reputation, or pleaſure, or ſafety, or vir- " tue, or even happineſs itſelf have any " religion hath all theſe in it.

" Atheiſm and infidelity do not bind up the " ſenſes of men ſtrongly enough, but they may " be awakened by the apprehenſion of death, " or ſome great calamity coming upon them. " A falſe religion, if a man be ſincere in it, " will bear up a man's ſpirits againſt torments " and death, becauſe every man's conſcience is a " kind of god to him; and the ſtrongeſt opiates " in the world are *Enthuſiaſm* and *Popery*. Theſe " may lock up mens ſenſes beyond the power of " truth to awaken them; as we ſee in the mur- " derers of our late Sovereign, and in our pre- " ſent *Romiſh* conſpirators."

Some of theſe reflections were afterwards introduced by the Dean into his ſermon on *Jerem.* xiii. 23. *of the difficulty of reforming vicious habits*, in the following paſſage of which he evidently alludes to the recovery of Lord *Rocheſter* from his enormous courſe of vice. " Even in this " perverſe and degenerate age, in which we live,

" God hath not been wanting to give ſome mi-
" raculous inſtances [1] of his grace and mercy to
" ſinners, and theſe perhaps equal to any of thoſe
" we meet with in ſcripture, of MANASSES, or
" MARY MAGDALENE, or the penitent, both for
" the greatneſs of the offenders, and the miracle
" of their change, to the end that none may de-
" ſpair, and for want of the encouragement of
" an example equal to their own caſe, be diſ-
" heartened from ſo noble an enterpriſe. I am
" loth to put you in mind how bad ſome have
" been, who yet have been *ſnatched as firebrands*
" *out of the fire*, and that in ſo ſtrange a man-
" ner, that it would even amaze a man to think
" of the wonder of their recovery. Thoſe, who
" have ſunk themſelves into the very depth of
" infidelity and wickedneſs, have by a mighty
" hand and out-ſtretched arm of GOD been
" pluckt out of this horrible pit. And will we
" ſtill ſtand it out with GOD, when ſuch great
" leaders have given up the cauſe, and have ſur-
" rendered and yielded up themſelves willing
" captives to the grace of GOD? that omnipo-
" tent grace of GOD, which can eaſily ſubdue
" the

[1] Beſide the caſe of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, there was another inſtance of a nobleman and a contemner of religion, JAMES LEY Earl of *Marlborough*, brought to a different ſenſe of things upon real conviction, even in full health, ſome time before he was kill'd in the ſea-fight at *Southold Bay* under the Duke of *York* againſt the *Dutch*, on the 3d of *June* 1665. He wrote ſeveral letters to his friends, whom he was conſcious of having injur'd by his ill example and impiety, urging them to return to virtue and religion. Mr. PRINCE in his *Worthies of Devonſhire*, and Biſhop KENNET in his *Complete hiſtory of England*, vol. III. p. 276. 2d edit. have publiſh'd one of theſe letters, written to Sir HUGH POLLARD, Comptroller of the Houſhold: and I have the original of another in my poſſeſſion, dated 23d of *May* 1665, and directed to WILLIAM GLASCOCK, Eſq;

" the ſtouteſt heart of man, by letting in ſo " ſtrong a light upon our minds, and pouring " ſuch terrible convictions into our conſciences, " that we can find no eaſe but in turning to GOD." He then proceeds to obviate the objections of thoſe, who either denied, that there had been ſuch examples, or imputed the behaviour of ſuch perſons at their death, either to a diſturbed imagination, or to the faint and low ſpirits of men under great bodily weakneſs, or to their natural cowardiſe and fear, or to I know not what fooliſh and fantaſtical deſign of compleating and finiſhing a wicked life with an hypocritical death. All theſe groundleſs objections were moſt probably urged by the libertines of that age, in oppoſition to the concluſions naturally ariſing againſt their cauſe, from the repentance of ſo eminent a member and profeſſor of their body; and they even ſubſiſt in ſome meaſure to this day, and are too often made uſe of to weaken the credit and effect of Dr. BURNET's book upon that ſubject, written by the Earl's own direction on his death-bed [k]. The Dean appears to have reviſed and improved that book, ſince it concludes [l] almoſt in the exact words of his letter to Mr. NELSON of the 2d of *Auguſt*, that " GOD " took pity on the Earl, and ſeeing the ſincerity " of his repentance, would try and venture him " no more in circumſtances of temptation, per- " haps too hard for human frailty."

The Rectory of *Barnes* in *Surrey* being vacant in *Auguſt* 1680, and in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, Mr. NELSON wrote to the Dean of *Canterbury* in favour of Mr. RICHARD KIDDER.

[k] Printed at *London* 1681, in 8vo. The 6th edition was publiſhed in 1724.

[l] *P.* 117. *6th edit.*

KIDDER. This divine, ſufficiently known to the world by his writings, eſpecially his *Demonſtration of the Meſſiah*, was born at *Brightbelmſtone* in *Suſſex* [m], and educated at *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was choſen Fellow in 1655, having taken the degree of Bachelor of arts in 1652, and that of Maſter in 1656, in which he was incorporated in the univerſity of *Oxford*, on the 13th of *July* 1658 [n]. His firſt preferment was the Vicarage of *Stanground* in the county of *Huntingdon*, to which he was preſented by his College, and deprived of it in 1662 for not complying with the act of uniformity [o]. But he conformed ſome time after, and in *October* 1664 was collated by ARTHUR Earl of *Eſſex* to the Rectory of *Raine-parva* in *Eſſex* [p]; and on the 24th of *October* 1674 inſtituted to that of *St. Martin-Outwich* in *London* [q], to which he had been elected by the company of Merchant-taylors. He was inſtalled Prebendary of *Norwich* on the 16th of *September* 1681, upon the death of Dr. HEZEKIAH BURTON. Soon after the revolution in 1689, he was made Dean of *Peterborough* in the room of Dr. SIMON PATRICK, advanced to the See of *Chicheſter*, and on the 30th of *Auguſt* 1691 was conſecrated to the Biſhopric of *Bath* and *Wells*, upon the deprivation of Dr. THOMAS KENN for not taking the oaths to their Majeſties, and the refuſal of Dr. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE to ſucceed in the place of the depriv'd Biſhop. He was killed with his Lady in his palace at *Wells*, by the fall of a ſtack of chimnies, during

[m] WILLIS's Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. p. 513. [n] WOOD. Faſti Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 123.
[o] KENNET's Regiſter and chronicle, *p.* 853. and CALAMY's Account, *p.* 371. [p] NEWCOURT's Repertorium, *vol. II. p.* 480. [q] Ibid. *vol. I. p.* 414.

during the high wind on the 29th of *November* 1703. The Dean of *Canterbury*'s intimate friendſhip with, and pre-engagement to Dr. HEZEKIAH BURTON, prevented his compliance with Mr. NELSON's recommendation of Mr. KIDDER. "I know not, *ſays he in his letter to that gentleman from* Canterbury, Aug. 15, 1680, how "Mr. GRIFFITH came to underſtand me ſo "well; but he made a very right judgment, "when he pitch'd upon you, as of all men moſt "likely to command me in any thing you ſhould "deſire. And no man ſhould have been more "glad to have gratified ſo worthy a perſon, as "Mr. KIDDER. But the truth is, I was pre-"engaged for Dr. BURTON, and have written to "Dr. STILLINGFLEET our Dean in his behalf, "tho' I fear without ſucceſs, becauſe I under-"ſtand, that my Lord of *Danby* (from whom "I received a letter laſt night) hath engaged "both the Dean and Dr. TURNER for Dr. "HAWKINS of the *Tower*, Dr. LAYFIELD's[r] "ſon-in-law. I had a letter likewiſe from Sir "GABRIEL ROBERTS for Mr. KIDDER, whom "I ſhould be glad to have been able to oblige. "But I wrote to him, that I was pre-engaged." However Dr. HAWKINS, whoſe intereſt with the Earl of *Danby* might ariſe from his Lordſhip's being then priſoner in the *Tower*, of which the Doctor was Chaplain, failed of his application for the Living, which was given to Dr. BURTON; but his office in the Tower giving him afterwards great opportunities of obliging the court, eſpecially in his attendance of Mr. EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS, who was executed on the 1ſt of *July*

[r] Vicar of *All-hallows Barking*, and Archdeacon of *Eſſex*, who died about *January* 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

July 1681, his intereſt became ſo conſiderable with King JAMES II. that he obtained of his Majeſty the Deanry of *Chicheſter*, upon the death of Dr. GEORGE STRADLING on the 19th of *April* 1688.

In this letter of the 15th of *Auguſt*, and ſome of the following ones, the Dean of *Canterbury* mentions Mr. DE VIEL as then with him; whom he patroniſed on account of his learning and converſion to the Proteſtant religion. This gentleman, whoſe name was LEWIS DE COMPEIGNE DE VIEL, had publiſhed in 1679 in *Hebrew*, with a *Latin* verſion by himſelf, *Catechiſmus* Judæorum *in diſputatione & dialogo magiſtri & diſcipuli, ſcriptus à* R. ABRAHAMO JAGEL, *monte Sicilis oriundo*, with a dedication to Dr. COMPTON Biſhop of *London*; and this book was reprinted at *Franeker* in 1690 in 8vo. He gave the public likewiſe a *Latin* tranſlation of, and notes upon Rabbi MOSES MAIMONIDES's book *De ſacrificiis*, and his tract *De conſecratione, & de ratione intercalandi*, and ABARBANEL's *Exordium ſive proœmium in Leviticum*, printed at *London* in 1683 in 4to. He had publiſhed alſo at *Paris* in 1678, the 8th book of MAIMONIDES *De cultu divino* with a *Latin* verſion, juſt before he left *France*, where he was the King's interpreter for the *Oriental* languages. He was born a Jew, but afterwards embraced the Popiſh religion, which he at laſt renounced for the Proteſtant [a], and entered into the communion of the church of *England*, whither he retired about the year 1679. There was another learned man almoſt of the ſame name, CHARLES MARIE DE VEIL,

D.

[a] BARTOLACCII Bibliotheca Rabbinica, *tom. III. n.* 847. *fol.* 843.

D. D. of the univerſity of *Angers*, who was likewiſe born a Jew at *Metz* in *Lorrain*, but being converted to Chriſtianity, while he was very young, became a Canon-regular of St. *Auguſtin*, and Prior of St. *Ambroſe* at *Melun*; which preferments he quitted, and declared himſelf a Proteſtant, and took refuge in *England*[t], where he preach'd among the Anabaptiſts in 1685[u]. He had publiſhed, while he was in *France*, commentaries in *Latin* upon the Goſpels of St. *Matthew* and *Mark*, the *Canticles*, and the Prophet *Joel*; as he did one in the ſame language in *England* upon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, printed at *London* 1684 in 4to, and publiſhed there the year following in *Engliſh*.

The Dean of *Canterbury* was return'd from thence to *London* in *October* 1680, whence he wrote on the 19th of that month to Mr. NELSON, then at *Dryfield* near *Cirenceſter* in *Gloceſterſhire*, in anſwer to a letter received from that gentleman the day before, in which he had mention'd a report ſpread to the Dean's diſadvantage, with regard to ſome alterations, which had been made in his cathedral, and containing probably ſome inſinuations of his diſinclination to the uſual ornaments in ſuch buildings. " And now, *replies he*, " it is time to be ſenſible of the kind concern- " ment you are pleas'd to expreſs for me in " your letter. Your conjecture is very right. " We only took down the ſun over the ſkreen " behind the communion table, which was done " with ſo little noiſe, that ſeveral days paſs'd " before it was taken notice of to be remov'd; " and nothing done beſides, not ſo much as the " table

[t] Id. ibid. and BAYLE, Nouvelle de la Republique des Lettres, *Decemb.* 1684. *art. XI. p.* 518. and *Sept.* 1685. *art. XI. p.* 1029.

[u] Id. ibid. 1029.

" table ſtirr'd out of its place. I have often " heard the ſame, which you write, but have no " great reaſon to be troubled, when I conſider " how undeſerved a ſhare of good report I have " had the fortune to meet withal." In this letter he takes notice, that the Duke and Ducheſs of YORK were to begin their voyage for *Scotland* the next day, " upon a ſudden reſolution, *adds* " *he*, of the council, as ſeems to us. A few " days will probably make much more news." Their Royal Highneſſes accordingly left *Whitehall* on the 20th of *October*, and embark'd at *Woolwich*, the King being advis'd by his council to part with the Duke, ſince it would be impoſſible to ſupport him during the ſeſſion of the parliament, which met the day following in a temper very unfavourable to his Royal Highneſs, who was now become extremely obnoxious to the nation in general, and had been juſt before preſented at the King's Bench-bar in *Weſtminſter-hall*, as a Popiſh recuſant, by a bill in form, offer'd by the Earls of HUNTINGDON and SHAFTESBURY, the Lords GREY of *Werk*, BRANDON-GERARD, RUSSEL, and CAVENDISH, and ſeveral conſiderable gentlemen; though by the ſudden diſmiſſion of the Grand-jury, the matter had no conſequence in the forms of the court. And the Dean himſelf was ſo deeply affected with a juſt apprehenſion of the danger of a Popiſh ſucceſſor to the civil as well as religious liberties of his country, that he could not but wiſh ſucceſs to the excluſion-bill, which had been ſtop'd in the preceding ſeſſion of parliament in *May* 1679, by his Majeſty's prorogation, and was now reſum'd, and paſs'd the Commons by a great majority, but thrown out at the ſecond

reading in the houſe of Peers by ſixty-three againſt thirty, only three of eleven Biſhops then preſent giving their votes for it, Dr. COMPTON, Biſhop of *London*, being one of thoſe three. The Dean's zeal for it indeed was ſuch, that he employ'd his intereſt with SAVILE, Viſcount (afterwards Marquis) of *Hallifax*, to divert his Lordſhip from his vehement oppoſition to it[w]: and when the Clergy of *London* agreed upon an addreſs to the King, upon his Majeſty's declaring in his anſwer of the 4th of *January* $168\frac{9}{1}$ to the addreſs of the Commons, that he could not conſent to ſuch a bill, the Dean refus'd to ſign that addreſs of his brethren[x]. He takes notice of this ſituation of public affairs in a letter from *London* of the 5th of *January* $168\frac{9}{1}$ to Mr. NELSON, who had written to him from *Paris*, where he was juſt arriv'd. "His Majeſty, *ſays he*, "and his houſe of Commons, ſtill differ about "the point of excluſion. They will give any "thing for that, and his Majeſty any thing "but that." But theſe diſputes were ſoon determin'd by a diſſolution of that parliament on the 18th of that month, and of the ſucceeding one ſummon'd at *Oxford* on the 14th of *March* following, after a ſeſſion of only ſeven days, which was the laſt in that reign.

In this letter the Dean congratulates Mr. NELSON upon his eſcape from a ſtorm at ſea, in which three merchant ſhips in the *Downs* were caſt away, and his ſafe arrival at *Paris*, "which, "*ſays he*, together with the ſight of the great "King, muſt needs make amends for all the "difficulties and diſtreſſes of your journey." He obſerves

[w] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own time, *vol. I. p.* 459.
[x] Life, *p.* 17.

obſerves likewiſe, that the comet had appear'd in *London* very plain for ſeveral nights, with a ſtream much of the length deſcrib'd by Mr. NELSON: and he adds his compliments and thanks to his *learned friend* and *companion* Mr. EDMUND HALLEY. "I have not yet, *ſays he*, received his "favour; but ſhall be glad to ſee any thing of "his, and much more to be able to underſtand "it." What Mr. HALLEY intended to write to the Dean was probably upon the ſubject of that comet, which that great aſtronomer firſt perceiv'd in the midway between *Calais* and *Paris*, in company with Mr. NELSON, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip from their childhood, as himſelf obſerves in his *Account of Mr.* DODWELL's book *De Cyclis*, addreſs'd to that gentleman, and printed in 1715, at the end of Mr. BROKESBY's life of Mr. DODWELL, dedicated likewiſe to Mr. NELSON. This comet, one of the moſt remarkable which had ever been obſerv'd, and the ſame that appeared the year of JULIUS CÆSAR's death, the period of its revolution being 575 years, afforded Mr. HALLEY an important ſubject of inquiry, and produced his *Synopſis cometarum*, one of the moſt valuable of his works. For in this piece, upon the foundation of Sir ISAAC NEWTON's principles, he reduces the path or orbit of this ſpecies of planets to a ſimple parabola, having the ſun for one focus, in common with the ellipſes deſcribed by the motion of the ordinary planets; which greatly facilitates the calculation of comets; and in a ſingle page has compriſed the reſult of almoſt infinite application, exhibiting in one table the nodes, perihelia, diſtances, and courſe of 24 comets, the moſt conſiderable and moſt accurately deſcrib'd. He was now

famous over *Europe*, tho' he was but four and twenty years of age at the time of his journey to *France*, whither he went to viſit the learned, for which purpoſe he likewiſe paſſed thence into *Italy*. After his firſt education at St. *Paul*'s ſchool, and an uncommon progreſs not only in the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* languages, but alſo in geometry and aſtronomy, he was admitted in 1673 at ſeventeen into *Queen's College Oxford*; and having at nineteen publiſhed his direct and geometrical method of finding the aphelia and excentricity of planets, his merit recommended him to King CHARLES II. who ſent him to *St. Helena* in *November* 1676, to make a catalogue of the ſtars of the ſouthern hemiſphere, whence he returned in autumn 1678, and was on the 3d of *December* following created Maſter of arts, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1679 made a voyage to *Dantzick* to converſe with the celebrated *Hevelius*. The ſubſequent hiſtory of this excellent aſtronomer, mathematician, and philoſopher, whoſe various pieces, diſpers'd in the *Tranſactions of the Royal Society*, and other books, would, if collected and republiſhed, be a valuable preſent to the public, may be ſeen in the eloge upon him by Monſ. MAIRAN in the *memoirs* of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*. His life, as well as that of his friend, Sir ISAAC NEWTON, was extended to an uncommon age, 86; he dying *January* 13th, 174$\frac{1}{2}$; being himſelf an inſtance of an obſervation, which I have often heard him make, that a ſtudious manner of life generally contributes to a long one, by keeping a man, as he expreſs'd it, out of harm's way.

The Dean concludes his letter to Mr. NELSON in terms, which ſhew'd the higheſt regard for him.

him. "If I were able, *ſays he*, I need not to "adviſe you in any thing, ſo well am I aſſured "of your virtue and good conduct. I pray for "you continually, that God would preſerve "you, and return you ſafe and the ſame to us, "and give you all the advantages you expected, "and will, I am ſure, endeavour to make by "your travels. I never knew how to part "from you, but my buſineſs calls me off."

His next letter is dated from *London* the 7th of *March* 168$\frac{0}{1}$, in which he thanks Mr. NELSON for his two letters, and his account of the occurrences in *France*; "among which, *ſays he*, no-"thing pleaſed me better than the condeſcenſion "of your great Cardinal, in honouring your St. "*Bartholomew*'s fair with ſo ſecular a kind of "preſence and demeanor." With regard to the ſtate of things in *England* at that time, which was a week before the meeting of the Parliament at *Oxford*, he obſerves; "I hope our "affairs are not in ſo deplorable a condition, as "they are reported at *Paris*. It may yet come "to our turn to talk of our neighbours with as "much pity, tho' perhaps with leſs pleaſure. "Moſt of our elections for the next Parliament "are over, almoſt without any drinking or ex-"pence, which is great news; and generally "the ſame perſons are choſen again." He then takes notice, "that there was little progreſs "made the laſt Parliament towards a reconcilia-"tion of Diſſenters. Two bills were brought "into the houſe of Commons to that purpoſe; "the one called a *Bill of indulgence* to mitigate "the ſeverity of the laws towards thoſe, who "could not come into the national conſtitution: "The other of *union*, by which the new ſub-

" ſcriptions were to be taken away, and the " ceremonies left indifferent. I never ſaw the " bills, but this was the ſubſtance of them; " which, ſo far as I can learn, pleaſed neither " ſide. The Biſhops thought this too much, " and the Diſſenters too little. I have no great " hopes of any good iſſue of this matter, till " the minds of men become more calm." The *Bill for uniting the King's Proteſtant ſubjects*, referr'd to in this letter, and read for the firſt time in the houſe of Commons on the 21ſt of *December* 1680, meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition there, another was brought in for exempting the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the penalties impoſed on the Papiſts, by the act of the 35th of Queen ELIZABETH, and this paſſed both houſes; but on the day of the prorogation of the Parliament, when it ought to have been offered to the King, for his aſſent, it was withdrawn by the Clerk of the crown, by his Majeſty's particular orders [y]; an offence, which was moved to be inquired into in the ſubſequent Parliament at *Oxford*, the ſudden diſſolution of which prevented that and all other inquiries.

In this letter the Dean incloſed for Mr. HALLEY ſome obſervations of Mr. HILL of *Canterbury*, *not a learned, but a very induſtrious man*, upon the late comet, which he told the Dean within a fortnight paſt, appeared then, but was very little. The poſtſcript mentions Dr. ZACHARY CRADOCK's being elected Provoſt of *Eton College*, as he was by the Fellows upon the death of Dr. ALLESTREE in *January* preceding, in oppoſition to Mr. WALLER the poet, whoſe pretenſions were ſet aſide by a determination of the Privy-

[y] BURNET, *vol. I. p.* 495.

Privy-council on the 22d of *February*, that no perſon could be Provoſt, who was not capable of taking the care of ſouls. This eminent divine, who was admired in his own time for his uncommon talents of diſcourſing from the pulpit with the greateſt copiouſneſs and vivacity, without notes or preparation, is ſcarce known to the preſent age, except by the high character given of him by his contemporaries, and two of his ſermons, one on *Eccleſiaſt.* ix. 2. publiſhed by command of King CHARLES II, before whom it was preached, *Febr.* 10th 167$\frac{7}{8}$, and another on 1 *Tim.* i. 5. intitled *The great end and deſign of Chriſtianity*, printed ſeveral years after his death, from a copy ſaid to be given by him to one of his friends. He had been educated in *Queen's-College Cambridge*, where he gained ſo univerſal an eſteem by his learning and piety, that Dr. CUDWORTH wrote on the 27th of *October* 1656, in the ſtrongeſt terms in his favour to Secretary THURLOE, to recommend him to the Protector, that he might be appointed Chaplain to the *Engliſh* factory at *Liſbon* [z]. Some years after the reſtoration he was made Canon-reſidentiary of *Chicheſter*, being inſtalled on the 11th of *February* 1669-70, and elected Fellow of *Eton College* on the 2d of *December* 1672; and having enjoyed the Provoſtſhip about fourteen years, died on the 16th of *October* 1695, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age [a].

Mr. NELSON was ſtill at *Paris* in the latter end of *April* 1681, whence he wrote two letters to the Dean, acquainting him with a propoſal, which had been made to him for the purchace of a place

[z] THURLOE's State-papers, *vol. V. p.* 522, 523.

[a] LE NEVE Monumenta Anglicana, from 1680 to 1699, *p.* 166.

at court. The offer came from Mr. HENRY SAVILE, brother of GEORGE Viſcount *Halliſax*, and Envoy-extraordinary from the King to the court of *France*, and ſworn Vice-chamberlain of the King's houſhold, in *September* 1680. He was now in *England*, whence he had probably wrote to Mr. NELSON upon that affair, which was by no means an agreeable one to his uncle Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, or to the Dean, for reaſons, which will appear in his anſwer from *London* on the 28th of *April* 1681. " But now, " *ſays he*, to the main buſineſs, to which I find " your uncle ſo abſolutely averſe, that he did " not think it fit your mother ſhould be ac- " quainted with it. It is well, if you eſcape " chiding from him. As for myſelf, than whom " no perſon in the world can wiſh you better, " ſince you are pleaſed to repoſe that kind con- " fidence in me, as to aſk my advice, I will " faithfully give it. In the preſent uncertainty " of things, I would not have you venture ſo " conſiderable a ſum, as thoſe places go at; and " unleſs *ſome body* grow better, which I hope " GOD will grant, the temptations, to which a " man muſt be expoſed in that ſtation, are like " to be ſo violent, as would ſet the firmeſt vir- " tue hard, even my friend's, of whom I have " ſo good an opinion. Your mother hath but " juſt maſter'd the trouble of your abſence, " which, I underſtand by your aunt HANGER, " was for a great while very grievous to her; " and therefore you will, I am ſure, be very ten- " der of giving any new occaſion. I will wait " upon Mr. SAVILE, and make the beſt ac- " knowledgments I can of his great civilities and " favours to you, and let him know how your

" friends

" friends ſtand affected in this matter, to whoſe " judgment and determination you have refer- " red it."

He expreſſes in this letter his ſatisfaction in what Mr. NELSON had written to him concerning Monſ. CLAUDE, miniſter of the *French* Proteſtant church at *Charenton* near *Paris*, and one of the ableſt managers of the controverſy againſt that of *Rome*, which that age produced. " I " am very glad, *ſaith the Dean*, Monſ. CLAUDE " hath reſolv'd, as I think, the wiſer way, tho' " I hear he hath written to Mr. BAXTER a very " kind and honeſt letter, in which he wiſhes, " that the Biſhops would ſhew them [b] more fa- " vour; but withal tells him, he cannot ſee how " they can be acquitted of ſchiſm: which letter, " I believe, they will hardly print." This ſeems to refer to Monſ. CLAUDE's having been conſulted about that time, among other eminent *French* divines, by both parties on the diſputes between the church of *England* and the Non-conformiſts, and particularly by the Biſhop of *London*, to whom he wrote an anſwer dated at *Paris*, *November* 29th 1680 N. S. which being printed in the appendix to Dr. STILLINGFLEET's *Unreaſonableneſs of ſeparation* [c] at *London* 1681, contrary to his deſign or expectation of ſeeing it made public, he wrote another letter [d] to a lady from *Paris*, *April* 16th 1681, in which he farther explained his ſentiments upon the ſubject of his former letter, condemning the exceſſes of both ſides, and wiſhing they would ſubmit to a juſt and reaſonable accommodation.

The

[b] The Diſſenters. [c] *P.* 427. [d] Oeuvres poſthumes de Monſ. CLAUDE, *tom. V. p.* 264, *&c.*

The next letter of the Dean to Mr. NELSON, then at *Saumur*, was written from *London* on the ſecond of *June* 1681, and relates to the main ſubject of his former, the offer to that gentleman of a place at court. "I wiſh, *ſays he*, your good "opinion of my judgment were as well-grounded as that of my ſincere friendſhip and affection for you moſt certainly is. Your mother "is perfectly well ſatisfied, as I told her ſhe had "great reaſon, ſince you referr'd yourſelf to the "advice and judgment of your friends; by "which I aſſured her you would moſt certainly "govern your reſolution. I ſhall be glad to ſee "*England* ſo happy, as that the court may be "a fit place for you to live in. I waited on the Embaſſador, and made the beſt acknowledgments to him I could of his great favours and "civilities to you, and particularly in that kind "offer he had made you. But I told him, that "your friends had no mind to it, eſpecially as "things now are; and I knew you would do "nothing againſt their inclination: with which "he was well ſatisfied, declaring the very great "kindneſs and eſteem he had for you, and for "your friend Mr. HALLEY; in which I did not "contradict him."

The ſincere concern, which the Dean always felt for his friends, made him neglect no opportunities of ſuggeſting to them proper advice, when their virtue, reputation, or intereſt requir'd ſuch an interpoſition: and this office he knew how to diſcharge with all the ſkill and delicacy neceſſary to prevent any juſt offence. Of this kind is the following letter, enter'd in ſhort-hand in his common place-book, written to Sir THOMAS

MAS COLEPEPPER, Bart. of *Kent*, and dated *July* 12th, 1681.

" HONOUR'D SIR,

" I Was heartily troubled, I was from home, " when you did me the honour of a viſit in " *London:* and the more, becauſe I loſt the op- " portunity I had long wiſh'd for, of having " ſome diſcourſe with you in relation to your- " ſelf; being ſo perfectly perſuaded of your " good diſpoſition, as to believe you would not " take it amiſs, that I, who have known you " from your tender years, and being always a " great well-wiſher to your family, ſhould be " concerned for your welfare. And, to tell you " the truth, I waited upon you at your lodgings " with a deſign to obtain your leave, humbly to " offer ſome advice to you; which I then for- " bore to do, becauſe I could not in civility de- " tain you ſo long undreſt. What I could not " then ſay, I crave leave now to write.

" I remember, I ſaid to you, that I had hoped " before that time to have ſeen you married and " ſettled at *Canterbury*. Not that I had in my " mind any body to propoſe to you; but be- " cauſe I conſider'd, that the hopes of your fa- " mily reſted upon you; and, if you will give " me leave to uſe ſo much freedom, that you " are now in the ſlippery and dangerous part of " life, expoſed to many and powerful tempta- " tions, eſpecially in ſo licentious an age. And " therefore I ſhould have been glad to have ſeen " you ſecured againſt this danger by that means.

" I doubt not, but you believe and conſider, " that after this there is another life; to ſecure

" the happineſs whereof, no care, no diligence " can be too great: and I have good hope, that " you are not yet entangled in any very bad " courſe. But if any of the vices, to which " youth is incident, have gained never ſo little " upon you, for GOD's ſake, and your own, re- " ſolve preſently to reſcue your life. Aſk par- " don of GOD for what is paſt, and the aſſiſtance " of his grace for the future: neither of which he " will deny to a ſincere and well-reſolved mind.

" And be pleaſed to conſider, that the fur- " ther men proceed in any thing, that is bad, " they put themſelves ſo much the more out of " GOD's protection and their own power; and " their retreat muſt every day become more dif- " ficult. But above all, that whatever the plea- " ſure of *ſin* may be, it cannot be a wiſe thing " to pleaſe ourſelves for a little while, at the in- " tolerable price of being miſerable for ever.

" You ſee, Sir, that I am contented to ven- " ture your diſpleaſure to prevent your danger; " and yet I promiſe myſelf, that your goodneſs " and patience will pardon the preſumption of " this advice, when I have told you, that it pro- " ceedeth from ſo much good-will, that if your " own good had been to counſel you, " though he would have done it with more ſkill, " he could not have done it with more kindneſs. " I pray GOD it may have the effect, which I ſo " earneſtly wiſh. I intreat you to give my very " humble ſervice to my Lady, your mother, " and to believe, that I am with the greateſt " ſincerity and reſpect, SIR,

" Your moſt faithful and humble ſervant,

" J. T."

During

During the courſe of this ſummer he loſt one of his two daughters; upon which occaſion Mr. NELSON having condoled with him in one of his letters, the Dean in his anſwer from *London November* 7, 1681, thanked that gentleman for his compaſſionate ſenſe of his loſs, "which, *ſays he*, "went very near me. But GOD's will is always "beſt, and I have no doubt but ſhe is infinite-"ly more happy and ſafe, than ſhe could have "been in any condition in this world. It hath "pleaſed GOD ſince that, to add another great "affliction by the death of my worthy friend "Dr. BURTON. About ten days ago Mr. GOUGE "another excellent man, died in his ſleep, as is "thought of apoplexy. But I ought not to en-"tertain you with ſuch diſmal things, if I had "any thing better to write you from hence."

The death of Mr. THOMAS GOUGE called upon the Dean to perform the laſt duty to his memory, by preaching his funeral ſermon on the 4th of *November* at *St. Anne*'s *Blackfryars*, in which he has done juſtice to the character of that pious and charitable man, who had been Vicar of *St. Sepulchre*'s in *London* about four and twenty years, till he was ejected in 1662 for not ſubmitting to the act of uniformity. He inſiſts with a peculiar ſatisfaction upon Mr. GOUGE's "diſ-"poſition ready to embrace and oblige all men; "allowing others to differ from him, even in "opinions, that were very dear to him; and "provided men did but fear GOD, and work "righteouſneſs, he loved them heartily, how di-"ſtant ſoever from him in judgment about things "leſs neceſſary: In all which he is very worthy "to be a pattern for men of all perſuaſions what-"ſoever." But Mr. GOUGE's moſt eminent di-

ſtinction was his unwearied diligence in doing good, in which he had a moſt ſingular ſagacity and prudence in contriving the moſt effectual means for it; one branch of which was the procuring the *bible*, *liturgy*, *whole duty of man*, and other good books to be printed in the *Welch* language, and diſperſed among the people of that country; towards the impreſſion of the firſt of which the Dean himſelf contributed fifty pounds [c].

The ſuſpicion and danger of that time prevented him from entering into a detail of facts or reaſonings upon public affairs in letters, which were to travel ſo far as thoſe to Mr. NELSON; and in that above-cited he only ſays, "we are, as you "left us, between hope and fear what will be-"come of us. The Earl of *Shaftſbury* makes "moſt diſcourſe at preſent, whoſe trial or en-"largement is expected ſome time this term." That Earl had been committed to the *Tower* on the 2d of *July* 1681 for high-treaſon; and tho' the grand jury had found the bill againſt him *ignoramus*, on the 24th of *November*, yet he was not diſcharged from his bail till the 13th of *February* following; and in *November* 1682 he retired to *Holland*, where he died at the age of ſixty-two on the 22d of *January* 168$\frac{2}{3}$.

Mr. NELSON being returned to *Paris* in his way home, the Dean wrote to him from *London* on the 5th of *July* 1682, in which letter he ſpeaks of the ſituation of the public as *full of diſtraction and diſcontent*, and obſerves, that he had heard of Monſ. ARNAUD's book about the plot, but had not ſeen it; and adds, "it is much ſo wiſe "a man ſhould think fit to intermeddle in the "affairs

[c] Life of Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN, *p.* 50. *edit. London* 1698.

" affairs of another country, and of which he " can but have a partial information." This book of Monſ. ARNAUD, Doctor of *Sorbonne*, is intitled *Apologie pour les Catholiques*, deſigned as an anſwer to *La politique du clergé de France*. The learned author, who ſtill retained the utmoſt devotion to the church of *Rome*, of which he was one of the ableſt advocates in his time, notwithſtanding his perſecutions from the Jeſuits, on account of his attachment to Janſeniſm, which obliged him to leave *France* in 1679, attempts here to remove the imputation of a ſeditious ſpirit from the profeſſors of that church, and to transfer it upon the Proteſtants, and to demonſtrate the whole Popiſh plot in *England* to be mere invention of TITUS OATES.

The thoughts, which occaſionally occurred to the Dean upon ſubjects of importance, being ſometimes ſet down by him in ſhort-hand in his common-place-book, I find the following remarks upon Prayer, under the date of *Auguſt* 12, 1682.

" Prayer.
" *O thou, that heareſt*, &c.
" Dr. WILKINS's *Natural religion, Sermons*
" and *Gift*, &c.
" Dr. BARROW, and Dr. BRIGHT.
" XENOPHON's Inſtit. SENECA. TULLY.
" No precept of prayer in the law of MOSES.
" Prayer is the moſt natural means of religion,
" which the word of GOD and ſacraments are of.
" Prayer is the moſt ſpiritual means of reli-
" gion, becauſe it is immediate converſe with
" GOD.

" Prayer

"Prayer is that, which ſanctifies all other "means, and makes them effectual.

"Prayer is a natural means to work thoſe "good diſpoſitions in us we pray for, as well "as a ſupernatural means.

"Prayer of all the means of religion hath "moſt of the end. It exerciſes our depen- "dence upon GOD, our adoration and praiſe of "him, and our charity to men.

"Some of the means of religion are bare and "dry means: but this comes near the end, and "is a good degree of it.

"That part, which conſiſts in praiſe and "thankſgiving, will be our great work to all "eternity."

Being at *Canterbury* in *Auguſt* 1682, he was viſited there by Mr. NELSON in his return from *France*, to whom the Dean expreſs'd, in his letter of the 18th of that month, great ſollicitude to hear of that gentleman's ſafe arrival in *Gloceſterſhire*, whither he went to ſee his mother.

Two days after the date of this letter, a calamity of the moſt aſtoniſhing nature happened to an ancient noble family, for which the Dean was intereſted by all the motives of friendſhip and eſteem. FORD Lord GREY of *Werke*, who had married Lady MARY, fourth daughter of GEORGE Earl of *Berkley*, having gained the affection of her younger ſiſter Lady HENRIETTA, then but eighteen years of age, found means to convey her away from *Durdens* near *Epſom* in *Surry* on the 20th of *Auguſt* 1682. The Dean, upon the firſt knowledge of it, reſolved to try what effect a ſtrong and pathetic repreſentation of her crime and its conſequences might make on

a

a young mind, before it ſhould loſe its ſenſibility by engaging too far in an habit of vice; for which purpoſe he wrote to her the following letter [f].

" THO' I have found by experience, that
" good counſel is, for the moſt part, caſt
" away upon thoſe, who have plunged them-
" ſelves ſo deep into a bad courſe, as, to my
" great grief and amazement, I underſtand your
" Ladyſhip has done; yet the concernment I
" have always had for the honour and welfare
" of your noble family, and the compaſſion I
" have for you, whom I look upon as one of
" the greateſt objects of pity in this world, will
" not ſuffer me to leave any means untry'd, that
" may conduce to your recovery out of that
" wicked and wretched condition, in which you
" are. And therefore I beg of you, for GOD's
" ſake and your own, to give me leave plainly
" to repreſent to you the heinouſneſs of your
" fault, with the certain and diſmal conſequences
" of your continuance in it. And it is of that
" heinous nature, as to be, for aught I know,
" without example in this or any other Chriſtian
" nation, and hath in it all poſſible aggrava-
" tions, of guilt towards GOD, of diſhonour to
" yourſelf, of a moſt outrageous injury and af-
" front to your ſiſter, of reproach and ſtain to
" your family, of moſt cruel ingratitude to as
" kind and indulgent parents, as any child ever
" had; of which I am a witneſs, as I have ſince
" been of the deep wound and affliction you
" have

[f] From a copy in Mr. NELSON's hand-writing, among the letters of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON to that gentleman, communicated to me by the late Dr. HUGHES.

" have given them, to that degree, as would " grieve the heart of a ſtranger, and ought ſure- " ly to make a much deeper impreſſion upon " you, their child, who have been the cauſe of it.

" Conſider of it, as you will anſwer it at the " judgment of the great day; and now you have " done what you can to ruin your reputation, " think of ſaving your ſoul; and do not, to " pleaſe yourſelf, or any body elſe, for a little " while, venture to be miſerable for ever, as " you will moſt certainly be, if you go on in " this courſe. Nay, I doubt not but that you " will be very miſerable in this world, not only " from the ſevere reflections of your own mind, " but from the diſtreſs you will be reduced to, " when after a while you will in all probability " be deſpiſed, and hated, and forſaken by him, " for whoſe ſake you have made yourſelf odious " to all the world. Before this happen, think " of reconciling yourſelf to GOD, and to your " beſt friends under him, your parents, of " whoſe kindneſs and tenderneſs you have had " that experience, that you have little reaſon to " fear their cruelty and rigour.

" Deſpiſe not this advice, which is now ten- " dered to you out of great charity and good " will: And I pray GOD it may be effectual to " bring you to repentance and a better mind.

" I have but one thing more to beg of you, " that you would be pleaſed by a line or two to " let me underſtand, that you have read and " conſidered this letter from,

" MADAM, Your Ladyſhip's

" moſt faithful and humble ſervant,

" JO. TILLOTSON."

It

It is very poſſible, that this letter might not reach the hand of the unfortunate lady, ſurrounded as ſhe was with perſons intirely in the intereſt of her lover, who, in order to ſecure her more effectually to himſelf, married her ſome time after to Mr. TURNER, a dependent of his, who claimed her as his wife, when ſhe was demanded by her father after the trial of Lord GREY for ſeducing her, on the 23d of *November* following, when a verdict was given againſt his Lordſhip, tho' the matter being compromiſed before the next term, no judgment paſſed, the Attorney-general entering a *noli proſequi* [s]. She afterwards with her huſband accompanied his Lordſhip into *Holland*, when he fled thither in *June* 1683, upon the detection of the *Rye-houſe* plot, after eſcaping from the Serjeant, who had taken him into cuſtody on the 26th of that month for high-treaſon, and whom he left ſleeping in his Lordſhip's own coach in their way to the *Tower*. His eſtate being forfeited, part of it was granted on the 2d of *December* 1684 to his father-in-law the Earl of *Berkley*, for the uſe of his wife, by whom he had only one child, a daughter. He returned to *England* with the Duke of *Monmouth* in *June* 1685; but was on good grounds ſuſpected of treachery to his Grace, and purchaſed his own pardon by an ample confeſſion. However, he recovered intereſt enough after the revolution to be created Viſcount *Glendale* and Earl of *Tankerville* in *May* 1695, and appointed Firſt-commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and one of the Lords-juſtices during his Majeſty's abſence in *June* 1700, and Lord-privy-ſeal on the 5th of *November* the ſame year; dying on

[s] State-trials, *vol. III.*

the 25th of *June* the year following. But we have no account of the ſequel of the hiſtory of his unhappy ſiſter-in-law, whoſe diſgrace forced her into retirement and obſcurity, while her name was proſtituted by one of the moſt licentious writers of her own ſex, in that collection of letters pretended to paſs between her and her galant during the courſe of their criminal amour.

The Dean of *Canterbury* in 1682 gave the public, from the manuſcripts of Biſhop WILKINS, a volume in 8vo of fifteen ſermons, which he introduc'd with a preface in defence of that Prelate's character againſt the reflections caſt upon him in the *Hiſtoria & antiquitates univerſitatis Oxonienſis*, printed in 1674, whether by Mr. ANTHONY WOOD, whoſe name that work bears, or by ſome other hand, the Dean was not curious to know. But it is not improbable, that they were inſerted by the direction of Dr. FELL, Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, under whoſe inſpection and patronage that book was publiſh'd; and they are not unſuitable to the known prejudices of that Prelate, who, though an eminent encourager of learning, and an excellent governor of his college, and of exemplary conduct in his epiſcopal character, yet from a ſenſe perhaps of his own ſufferings before the reſtoration, was capable of ſome exceſſes, in caſes, wherein the intereſts of party could bias him, as is evident from the letters, which paſs'd between him and the Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State, in *November* 1684, relating to his expulſion of Mr. LOCKE from his Student's place in *Chriſt-Church*. The former part of Biſhop WILKINS's character, in Mr. WOOD's hiſtory, lib. 2. p. 376.

is

is chiefly made up of invidious reflections upon his carriage, and the circumſtances of his condition, in the times preceding the reſtoration; "in all which, *ſays the Dean*, becauſe I did "not then know him, I leave him to be vindicated or cenſured by thoſe, who were witneſſes of his whole behaviour and temper in "that time." The latter part of it conſiſts "of "flat and ill-favour'd commendations; as, that "he was *philoſophiæ & mathematicæ addictiſſimus*, "a great well-willer to philoſophy and the mathematics; the exact character of an *empiric* "and an *almanack-maker*, when theſe two excellencies happen to be in conjunction. And "then that to the ſtudy of divinity he added "*eloquentiam in concionando non contemnendam*, "an eloquence in preaching *not to be deſpiſed*: "which, though it be but a very cold and ſlender commendation both of his divinity and "eloquence, yet I muſt own ſomething of kindneſs in it, becauſe there is in good earneſt a "ſort of eloquence in preaching, that is to be "deſpiſed. To finiſh the kindneſs, and that "nothing might be omitted, that might any "ways caſt an odium upon him, as he is placed "next before Mr. HOBBES, ſo I cannot but obſerve in comparing their characters, that there "is apparently far leſs of envy and detraction "in that of Mr. HOBBES, than in this of the reverend Biſhop, for which I can imagine no "other reaſon but this, that Mr. HOBBES was "then alive [h] to ſpeak for himſelf; but *the dead* "*bite not*." The Dean then remarks, that it had been often no ſmall wonder to him, whence it ſhould come to paſs, that ſo great a man,

[h] He died *December* 4. 1679.

and ſo great a lover of mankind, who had the inclination, the ſkill, and the opportunity to oblige ſo very many, and was ſo highly valued and reverenced by all who knew him, ſhould yet have the hard fate to fall under the heavy diſpleaſure and cenſure of thoſe, who knew him not; and that he, who never did any thing to make himſelf one perſonal enemy, ſhould have the ill fortune to have ſo many. "I think, *adds* "*he*, I may truly ſay, that there are, or have "been, very few in this age and nation ſo well "known, and ſo greatly eſteemed and favoured, "firſt by a judicious Prince, and then by ſo "many perſons of high rank and quality, and "of ſingular worth and eminency in all the learn-"ed profeſſions, as our author was. And this "ſurely cannot be denied him, it is ſo well "known to many worthy perſons yet living, "and hath been ſo often acknowledged even "by his enemies, that in the late times of con-"fuſion, almoſt all that was preſerved and kept "up of ingenuity and learning, of good order "and government in the univerſity of *Oxford*, "was chiefly owing to his prudent conduct and "encouragement." His inducement to the publiſhing of the Biſhop's ſermons was, becauſe, though there be many ſermons, yet there are not many ſuch, whether we conſider in them the uſefulneſs and weight of the matters treated of; or the ſuitable manner of handling them in a ſtyle of ſo much clearneſs, and cloſeneſs, and ſtrength, as was fitted (as the Biſhop himſelf us'd to wiſh) *to the capacity of the weakeſt, and the conviction of the ſtrongeſt*; or the ſolid and well-pois'd judgment of the author in points of difficulty; or, laſtly, the admirable candor and moderation

deration of his temper in matters of difference and diſpute. " And I purpoſely, *ſays the Dean*, " mention his moderation, and likewiſe adven- " ture to commend him for it, notwithſtanding " that this virtue, ſo much eſteemed and mag- " nified by wiſe men in all ages, hath of late " been declaimed againſt with ſo much zeal and " fierceneſs, and yet with that good grace and " confidence, as if it were not only no virtue, " but even the ſum and abridgement of all vices. " I ſay, notwithſtanding all this, I am ſtill of " the old opinion, that moderation is a virtue, " and one of the peculiar ornaments and advan- " tages of the excellent conſtitutions of our " church, and muſt at laſt be the temper of her " members, eſpecially the Clergy, if ever we ſe- " rioufly intend the firm eſtabliſhment of this " church, and do not induſtriouſly deſign, by " cheriſhing heats and diviſions among ourſelves, " to let in Popery at theſe breaches."

The ſame year 1683 Mr. DANIEL WHITBY, Præcentor of the church of *Sarum*, urg'd the authority of our Dean in favour of a ſcheme, which he zealouſly recommended in his *Proteſtant reconciler*, printed at *London* 1683, *humbly pleading for condeſcenſion to diſſenting brethren, in things indifferent and unneceſſary, for the ſake of peace; and ſhewing how unreaſonable it is to make ſuch things the neceſſary conditions of communion.* The paſſage cited from the Dean is in his ſermon on *John* xiii. 34, 35. preached on the third of *December* 1678, at the firſt general meeting of the gentlemen and others born within the cóunty of *York*. In this ſermon he remarks, that nothing can be a bulwark of ſufficient force to reſiſt all the arts and attempts of Popery, but an eſtabliſh'd na-

tional religion, firmly united and compacted in all the parts of it; and that little ſects and ſeparate congregations can never do it, but will be like a foundation of ſand to a weighty building; which, whatever ſhew it makes, cannot ſtand long, becauſe it wants union at the foundation, and for that reaſon muſt neceſſarily want ſtrength and firmneſs. He then proceeds in the words quoted in *The Proteſtant reconciler*[1]: "It is not "for private perſons to undertake in matters of "public concernment, but I think we have no "cauſe to doubt but the governors of our church "(notwithſtanding all the advantages of autho-"rity, and we think of reaſon too on our ſide) "are perſons of that piety and prudence, that "for peace ſake, and in order to a firm union "among Proteſtants, they would be content, "if that would do it, not to inſiſt upon little "things, but to yield them up, whether to the "infirmity, or importunity, or perhaps in ſome "very few things, to the plauſible exceptions "of thoſe, who differ from us." In a copy of the *Proteſtant reconciler* in my poſſeſſion, greatly improv'd throughout by the author's own hand, in the margin of this quotation from Dr. TILLOTSON's *excellent* ſermon, as he ſtiles it, Mr. WHITBY has inſerted ſome ſhort notes; as upon the words, *it is not for private perſons to undertake*, he adds, *but only modeſtly and humbly offer*; upon the words, *we think of reaſon too*, his remark is, *except in ſome few things*; and upon theſe, *in order to a firm union among Proteſtants*, his obſervation is, *at which the* Proteſtant reconciler *only aims*. But how well-intended the aim was of this learned writer, whoſe *paraphraſe*

[1] Preface, *p*, 19.

phraſe and commentary on the New Teſtament is ſufficient to recommend him to poſterity, even ſeparate from his other works, which are conſiderable in number and value; yet his book gave ſuch high offence at its firſt publication, that it was condemn'd by the univerſity of *Oxford* on the 21ſt of *July* 1583, and burnt by the hands of the univerſity-marſhal in the ſchools quadrangle; and Mr. WHITBY himſelf being diſcover'd to be the author (for he had printed it without his name) he was obliged by Dr. SETH WARD, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, whoſe Chaplain he then was, to make a public retractation of it on the 9th of *October* following: And the ſame year, to remove the clamour raiſed againſt the firſt part of his book, he publiſhed a ſecond, *earneſtly perſuading the diſſenting laity to join in full communion with the church of* England, *and anſwering all the objections of the Non-conformiſts againſt the lawfulneſs of the ſubmiſſion to the rites and conſtitutions of that church.*

The taſk of preparing the ſermons of Dr. BARROW for the preſs, which had employed the Dean for ſeveral years, and coſt him as much pains, as would have produced many more of his own [k], was now finiſh'd, and the edition publiſh'd at *London* in 1683, in fol. with an account of the author by ABRAHAM HILL, Eſq; who had been left by him joint-executor with the Dean, to whom that account is addreſs'd, as materials for a more complete life, which Mr. HILL and the public equally wiſhed might be undertaken by an hand capable of ſetting ſo exalted a genius and ſo amiable a character, as that of Dr. BARROW,

[k] Account of the life of Dr. BARROW, by ABRAHAM HILL, Eſq;

ROW, in their proper light and juſt proportions, ſince, as he obſerves himſelf in his *preface*, the picture of that truly great man deſerv'd to be drawn at full length for the knowledge and imitation of poſterity. The narrow limits of a preface prevented the Dean from ſo much as even attempting the character of his incomparable friend, of whom either not a little, or nothing at all, ought to be ſaid. He only advertiſes the reader therefore of ſome particulars relating to his ſermons, which he concludes with remarking, that as they want no other kind of excellency, ſo particularly they are animated throughout with ſo genuine a ſpirit of true piety and goodneſs, that he muſt either be a perfectly good, or prodigiouſly bad man, who can read them over without being the better for them. Thoſe ſermons, which he is fulleſt in his commendations of, are the *ten* upon the vices of the tongue, and the *two* againſt *pragmaticalneſs* and meddling in the affairs of others; a ſubject, which has an immediate connexion with the other, ſince that vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and almoſt always attended with ſome irregularity and indiſcretion of ſpeech. And Dr. BARROW had a peculiar right to expoſe faults of that kind, "being of all men, I ever knew, *ſays the Dean*, "the cleareſt from this common guilt, and moſt "free from *offending in word*, coming as near, "as is poſſible for human frailty to do, to the "perfect idea of St. JAMES's *perfect man*: ſo "that in theſe excellent diſcourſes of his he hath "only tranſcribed his own practice. All the "rules, which he hath given, he moſt religiouſly "obſerved himſelf, and was very uneaſy, when

"at

" at any time he ſaw them tranſgreſſed by others " in his company."

The laborious office of editor of ſuch voluminous writings as thoſe of Dr. BARROW, undertaken by one, who had many years before appeared himſelf to ſo much advantage as an original writer, was as clear an evidence of the modeſty, as it was of the friendſhip of the Dean: And yet his own merit has been ſometimes attempted to be leſſened by a ſuggeſtion, ſtarted perhaps thro' envy, and propagated thro' haſte and inadvertency, that great part of his excellence as a preacher was owing to his uſe of the works of his friend. But not to inſiſt on the prodigious difference of their manner and ſtile, the ſlighteſt attention to the chronology of the lives of thoſe great men is ſufficient to confute ſuch a ſuſpicion. For Dr. TILLOTSON was eminent in his profeſſion as early as the year 1663, and had given the public the firſt volume of his ſermons in 1671, in which the firſt and only ſermon publiſhed by Dr. BARROW appear'd; the impreſſion of that upon *the paſſion of our Saviour* not being finiſhed at his death. Nor had the latter leiſure to apply himſelf thoroughly to theological ſtudies, being engaged in thoſe of a very different kind, till his reſignation of the *Lucaſian* profeſſorſhip of mathematics at *Cambridge* on the 8th of *November* 1670, to his immortal pupil, Mr. ISAAC NEWTON.

Dr. BENJAMIN WHICHCOT, Vicar of *St. Laurence Jewry*, dying in *May* of this year 1683 in the 73d year of his age, at the houſe of Dr. CUDWORTH, Maſter of *Chriſt's-College Cambridge*, the Dean preach'd on the 24th of that month a ſermon at his funeral, worthy both of himſelf

and his deceaſed friend; who wanted indeed no other memorial than his own writings, one volume of which, intitled *Select diſcourſes*, was publiſhed by the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, author of the *Characteriſtics* in 1698, three others by Dr. JOHN JEFFERY, Archdeacon of *Norwich* in 1701 and 1702, and a fourth by Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE.

The diſcovery of the *Rye-houſe* plot, in *June* the ſame year 1683, opened a very melancholy ſcene, in which the Dean had a large ſhare of diſtreſs, on account both of his friendſhips and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his ſollicitude and anxiety was WILLIAM Lord RUSSEL, eldeſt ſon of WILLIAM Earl, and after the revolution Duke, of *Bedford*. His Lordſhip having ſhewn ſo warm a zeal for the bill of Excluſion, which he had moved for in the houſe of Commons in the beginning of *November* 1680, had little reaſon, notwithſtanding the integrity of his own perſonal character, and the dignity and weight of his family and its connections, to expect any favour from the court. He was committed to the *Tower* on the 26th of *June*, and brought to his trial at the *Old Bailey* on *Friday* the 13th of *July*, where he was found guilty of high treaſon. The Dean appear'd as a witneſs for his Lordſhip's character at his trial, declaring, that he had been many years paſt acquainted with him, and had always judg'd him a perſon of great virtue and integrity, and very far from any ſuch wicked deſign, as he ſtood charg'd with. And after Lord RUSSEL's condemnation, the Dean and Dr. BURNET were ſent for by his Lordſhip, and they both continued their attendance upon him till his death; the day before which, the Dean delivered to him a letter, in which he endea-

endeavoured to perſuade him to what he had ſome days before in vain attempted, a declaration againſt the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance. This letter, which was a few days after, contrary to the writer's inclination, publiſhed to the world, as it has been often ſince, was in theſe terms:

" My Lord,

" I Was heartily glad to ſee your Lordſhip " this morning in that calm and devout tem- " per at receiving the Sacrament. But peace of " mind, unleſs it be well-grounded, will avail " little. And becauſe tranſient diſcourſe many " times hath little effect for want of time to " weigh and conſider it, therefore in tender com- " paſſion of your Lordſhip's caſe, and from all " the good-will, that one man can bear to an- " other, I do humbly offer to your Lordſhip's " deliberate thoughts theſe following conſidera- " tions concerning the points of reſiſtance, if " our religion and rights ſhould be invaded, as " your Lordſhip puts the caſe, concerning which " I underſtood by Dr. Burnet, that your Lord- " ſhip had once received ſatisfaction, and am " ſorry to find a change.

" Firſt, that the Chriſtian religion doth plain- " ly forbid the reſiſtance of authority.

" Secondly, that though our religion be eſta- " bliſhed by law, (which your Lordſhip argues " as a difference between our caſe and that of the " primitive Chriſtians) yet in the ſame law, which " eſtabliſhes our religion, it is declared, *that it* " *is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to* " *take up arms*, &c. Beſides that, there is a " particular law declaring the power of the

" militia

" militia to be ſolely in the King. And this " ties the hands of ſubjects, though the law of " nature and the general rules of Scripture had " left us at liberty, which I believe they do not, " becauſe the government and peace of human " ſociety could not well ſubſiſt upon theſe terms.

" Thirdly, your Lordſhip's opinion is con- " trary to the declared doctrine of all Prote- " ſtant churches. And though ſome particular " perſons have thought otherwiſe, yet they have " been contradicted herein, and condemned for " it by the generality of Proteſtants. And I " beg of your Lordſhip to conſider how it will " agree with an avowed aſſerting of the Pro- " teſtant religion, to go contrary to the general " doctrine of the Proteſtants.

" My end in this is to convince your Lord- " ſhip, that you are in a very great and dan- " gerous miſtake; and being ſo convinc'd, that, " which before was a ſin of ignorance, will ap- " pear of a much more heinous nature, as in " truth it is, and call for a very particular " and deep repentance; which if your Lord- " ſhip ſincerely exerciſe upon the ſight of your " error by a penitent acknowledgment of it to " GOD and men, you will not only obtain for- " giveneſs of GOD, but prevent a mighty ſcan- " dal to the reformed religion.

" I am very loth to give your Lordſhip any " diſquiet in the diſtreſs you are in, which I " commiſerate from my heart; but am much " more concerned, that you do not leave the " world in a deluſion and falſe peace, to the hin- " drance of your eternal happineſs.

" I heartily pray for you, and beſeech your " Lordſhip to believe, that I am with the

" greateſt

" greateſt ſincerity and compaſſion in the " world,

" My Lord,

July 20. 1683. " Your Lordſhip's moſt " faithful and afflicted ſervant,

" John Tillotson."

The principles of this letter were the ground of thoſe expreſſions, which he us'd in his prayer with his Lordſhip on the ſcaffold in *Lincolns-Inn-fields* on *Saturday* the 21ſt of *July*, " Grant " that all we, who ſurvive, by this and other " inſtances of thy providence, may learn our " duty to God and the King." And this prayer, as well as his letter, were conſider'd by the court as ſuch a ſanction to their favourite doctrines and meaſures, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange was furniſhed with copies of them, inſerted by him in his *Conſiderations upon a printed ſheet, entituled*, The ſpeech of the late Lord Russel to the ſheriffs [l]; in which he gives an account of the Dean's *pious and friendly viſits* to his Lordſhip [m], and commends him [n] *for diſcharging himſelf from firſt to laſt in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend.*

But what paſs'd in his attendance upon Lord Russel, and the motives and circumſtances of his writing that letter, will be beſt learn'd from the Dean's own examination after the revolution, before a committee of the houſe of Lords [o], appointed on the 2d of *November* 1689 to conſider, who were the adviſers and proſecuters of the murthers of the Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney,

[l] Printed at *London* 1683 in 4to, *p.* 49, 50, 51.
[m] *P.* 47. [n] *P.* 48, 49.
[o] Journal of the houſe of Lords.

SIDNEY, Sir THOMAS ARMSTRONG, and others; and who were the adviſers of iſſuing out writs of *Quo warranto's* againſt corporations; and who were their regulators; and alſo who were the public aſſertors of the diſpenſing power. The Dean being ſummon'd, among others, to attend this committee, was examin'd on the 18th of *November* 1689, and inform'd their Lordſhips, that he wrote a letter to the Lord RUSSEL the day before his Lordſhip's death, and ſhew'd it to the Lord HALLIFAX the evening on which he wrote it; and that he wrote it merely of himſelf; but did not publiſh it, the publication of it being much againſt his will; nor did he know by what order it was publiſh'd. That Dr. BURNET coming from the Lord RUSSEL had told him, that he believ'd he had brought his Lordſhip to a willingneſs to declare his ſatisfaction in that point, to which the letter relates; and deſired him, the Dean, to go to the Lord HALLIFAX, and acquaint him with it, that his Lordſhip might mitigate the thing to the King, and ſo be a means to ſave the Lord RUSSEL's life. Lord HALLIFAX promiſed the Dean to do it, and the next day ſaid he had done it, and that the King ſeemed to be more moved with it, than by any thing elſe, that he had ſaid before. On the *Thurſday* after the Dean waited on the Lord RUSSEL, and told him, that he was very glad to hear, that his Lordſhip was ſo well ſatisfied on that point, hoping he would improve it to his advantage: but his Lordſhip's anſwer was, that he was not ſo clearly convinc'd in that matter. The Dean in reply told his Lordſhip, that he was very ſorry for it, becauſe the Meſſage had been carried to the King, that his Lord-

ſhip was convinc'd of it, and would declare it at his death; for ſo he had been inform'd. His Lordſhip ſaid, that Dr. BURNET had diſcourſed much with him about it, and that he was willing to be convinced, but yet could not ſay, that he abſolutely was. The Dean was much troubled at this for his own ſake, as well as his Lordſhip's, becauſe he had been the occaſion of ſending a meſſage to the King, which ſeem'd to contradict him. Hereupon the next day, which was *Friday*, he wrote the letter, which he carried with him to Lord RUSSEL, fearing, that being ſo near the time of his ſuffering, his relations would be with his Lordſhip, and ſo he might not have the opportunity of ſpeaking with his Lordſhip himſelf. But when he came, he found there none with him but his Lady. He told his Lordſhip what he intended; that ſince his time was ſo very ſhort, he rather choſe to give him that letter, than to trouble him with a long diſcourſe. His lordſhip receiving it roſe up, and went into an inner room, and after ſtaying there ſome time, upon his return told the Dean, that he had read the letter and was willing to be convinc'd, but could not ſay, that he was ſo; and that it was not a time to trouble himſelf with politics; but that though he was in an error, yet being willing to be convinc'd, he hoped that GOD would forgive him. To which the Dean anſwer'd, that he hoped ſo too; and after a little diſcourſe of that matter, told his Lordſhip, he would trouble him about it no more: nor did he; but after his Lordſhip came out of the room, he gave the Dean his letter again; who upon leaving his Lordſhip went to the Lord HALLIFAX, whom he

told, that he was ſorry, that he had begg'd his Lordſhip's favour to employ himſelf in the meſſage to the King, not finding the Lord RUSSEL ſo fully ſatisfied, as Dr. BURNET believ'd he was, though he had endeavour'd to give his Lordſhip ſatisfaction in the matter, and had written a letter to that purpoſe, which he delivered into his own hands himſelf. He then ſhew'd the letter to Lord HALLIFAX, and juſt as he began to read it, one of his Lordſhip's ſervants came in, and told him, that a foreign or *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was coming in. Upon which the Dean told the Lord HALLIFAX, that he muſt leave the letter with his Lordſhip. The next day, being that of the Lord RUSSEL's ſuffering, the Dean attended him on the ſcaffold, and did not ſpeak with the Lord HALLIFAX till ſome days after; and the reaſon, why he applied to his Lordſhip before, was becauſe he believed, that his Lordſhip would do the Lord RUSSEL all the good he could. The day after that Lord's death, the Dean was commanded to appear at the Cabinet-council, which he did; and there the King, the Duke of YORK, the Lord-keeper NORTH, the Duke of ORMOND, the Lord HALLIFAX, the Lord ROCHESTER, Sir LEOLINE JENKINS were preſent. The King aſk'd the Dean, whether he had any hand in the paper, which was publiſh'd in the Lord RUSSEL's name: to which he anſwered, that he had not. After which his Majeſty ſeemed to be ſatisfied. The next day Mr. ROGER L'ESTRANGE came to the Dean, and told him, that he was order'd to ſhew him a letter, and aſk'd him, whether it was his, or no. The Dean having given no copy of his letter, though he kept one in ſhort-hand, deſired

Mr. L'ESTRANGE to read the letter, which he ſhewed him; and when he read it, the Dean told him, that it was his, except two or three words, which he ſhew'd Mr. L'ESTRANGE to alter. He believed, that copy was in that gentleman's hand-writing, and told him, that he was very ſorry, that it was to be publiſh'd; and that if it were in his own power, it ſhould not. Some day in the week following, the firſt time he ſpoke with the Lord HALLIFAX, he aſked his Lordſhip, how his letter came to be publiſh'd. To which he was anſwered, that upon the coming out of the Lord RUSSEL's paper, there was ſuch a ſtorm raiſed in the court againſt Dr. BURNET and the Dean, that his Lordſhip in kindneſs to the latter ſhew'd the King his letter; and it paſſing through ſeveral hands, it became out of his power to retrieve it. His Lordſhip ſaid, that he had this reaſon to believe, that he had left it in the King's hands, becauſe the Duke of YORK that *Sunday* (being the day after the Lord RUSSEL's death) at the Cabinet-council ſpoke of this letter; but the Dean knew nothing of the publiſhing of it, nor by whom, nor did he ſpeak to the Lord HALLIFAX between the time of the delivery of the letter and the publiſhing of it. The Dean added, that his Lordſhip ſhew'd a very compaſſionate concern for the Lord RUSSEL, and all the readineſs to ſerve him, that could be wiſh'd; and that the Lord RUSSEL deſir'd him, the Dean, to give his thanks to that Lord for his humanity and kindneſs to him, upon the Dean's informing the Lord RUSSEL of the Lord HALLIFAX's being ſo ready to carry that meſſage to the King, which he had from Dr. BURNET.

To this examination of the Dean it will not be improper to ſubjoin ſome particulars from an original manuſcript of Dr. BURNET, intitled, *An account of all that paſſed between the late Lord* RUSSEL *and me, concerning his laſt ſpeech and paper* * ; written at Lady RUSSEL's deſire, and but juſt finiſhed, when he was ſent for before the Council the day after his Lordſhip's death, to be examined concerning that ſpeech. In this account, which is the very *journal* mentioned by the Doctor in *The hiſtory of his own time* [p] ; he obſerves, that upon his being ſent for by that Lord, on *Monday July* 16th 1683, he thought, that by the ground, which he had gain'd, in diſcourſing upon the ſubject of reſiſtance, it would be eaſy to perſuade his Lordſhip, that it was abſolutely unlawful ; tho' indeed he went no farther at firſt than he did at laſt. However the Doctor thinking, that the ſtep, which his Lordſhip had made, gave farther hopes, told the Dean, that he believed, that his Lordſhip was convinced of that point. Lord RUSSEL perſiſting in his former opinion, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Dean and Doctor to alter it, added to the ſpeech, which he was compoſing, the following paſſage, not now extant in the printed copy : " For my part, I cannot " deny, but I have been of opinion, that a free " nation like this might defend their religion and " liberties, when invaded, and taken from them, " tho' under pretence and colour of law. But " ſome eminent and worthy divines, who have " had the charity to be often with me, and " whom I value and eſteem to a very great de-

" gree,

* Communicated to me by the right honourable the Lord CHARLES CAVENDISH, grandſon to the Lord RUSSEL.

[p] Vol. I. *p.* 562.

" gree, have offered me weighty reaſons to per-
" ſuade me, that faith and patience are the pro-
" per ways for the preſervation of religion, and
" the method of the Goſpel is to ſuffer perſe-
" cution rather than to uſe reſiſtance. But if I
" have ſinned in this, I hope God will not lay
" it to my charge, ſince he knows it was only
" a ſin of ignorance." This being read to the Dean on *Friday* morning *July* 20th, he was ſorry to find it ſo defective; but not having then leiſure to ſpeak to Lord RUSSEL of it, he return'd in the afternoon, and preſs'd his Lordſhip very earneſtly to deliver himſelf more fully in that matter, and gave him a paper concerning it; and, as he came out, meeting Dr. BURNET, deſired him to urge the point home to his Lordſhip, and either to carry him farther, or to ſtrike out the whole paragraph above-cited, ſince the concluſion of it was ſo cold; and wiſhed, that the firſt part of it might be quite left out. The Doctor accordingly diſcourſing Lord RUSSEL again upon the affair, his Lordſhip anſwered, that he could not ſay a lie, and he was ſure, that the Doctor would not deſire it; and he was ſure, if he went farther, he muſt needs lie. He ſaid that he had not leiſure now to ſtudy politics. That the notion, which he had of the laws and of the *Engliſh* government, was different from that of the two divines; yet he ſaid, ſo far did he ſubmit to them, and to the reaſons, which they had offer'd him, that he was willing to go ſo far as he had done, but he could not go farther without being diſingenuous. And when at laſt the Doctor propoſed the ſuppreſſing of the whole paragraph, he was very well ſatisfied, and ſaid that his chief reaſon for putting it in, was to

prevent any inconveniency, that might ariſe to them.

There is another account of the occaſion of the writing the letter to Lord RUSSEL, and the circumſtances of its publication, publiſh'd by Mr. ECHARD [q], who pretends it to have been taken from the Dean's own mouth. This will be found indeed contradictory in ſeveral points to his own examination inſerted above; but as it ſupplies ſome few particulars not mention'd in that examination, eſpecially as to what paſs'd when he was called before the King in council, it may not be improper to give the whole here.

Two days before Lord RUSSEL's death, Dean TILLOTSON going to attend upon him, was ſuddenly ſtop'd in the ſtreet by Dr. BURNET, who told him, that he had now ſome good hope of ſaving his Lordſhip's life, the main impediment of which being his avow'd principle, that reſiſtance was in ſome caſes lawful, he had convinced him of his miſtake, and that he was ready to own his error in it. He therefore deſired the Dean to go immediately to the Earl of *Hallifax*, and acquaint him with it, who would thereupon go again to the King, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain Lord RUSSEL pardon. The Dean went, and delivered this meſſage to the Earl of *Hallifax*; but calling upon Lord RUSSEL in *Newgate* upon his return, was very much ſurpriſed and troubled to find him under no ſuch conviction, as Dr. BURNET had haſtily believ'd and reported him to be. The Dean vex'd and uneaſy at what he had done, and willing to clear himſelf after the beſt manner, reſolv'd the next day to try what he could do to bring his Lordſhip

[q] Appendix *to his* hiſtory of England, *p.* 18.

ſhip to ſome change in his opinion. But it being the laſt day before the appointed execution, and not knowing whether he ſhould be able to ſee his Lordſhip alone, he wrote the letter to him, and took it in his pocket, reſolving, if he could not diſcourſe with him, to deſire him to read and conſider it. He finding his Lordſhip alone, told him what he had done, and gave the letter to him, who read it with great deliberation, and acknowledged to him, that he had therein offered more to convince him, than he had ever met with before: That he was now ſatisfied nothing but a caſe of a very extraordinary nature could juſtify ſubjects in taking up arms againſt their prince: That he was fully of opinion, that no ſuch cauſe had been given by the King to juſtify any ſuch attempt againſt him. But ſtill he thought ſuch circumſtances there might be, in which it would be lawful for them to reſiſt. Being aſk'd by the Dean, what theſe caſes were, he anſwered, that he had not conſidered the matter ſo far and fully, and that he had other things more proper to be thought on at that time. On that ſame evening the Dean waited upon the Earl of *Hallifax*, to account to him what miſtake he had been led into, and what he had done upon it; and the better to juſtify himſelf, ſhewed him the very letter he had written to the Lord RUSSEL. While that Lord was reading it, Sir THOMAS CLARGES came in, and after a little time the Dean took leave of the Earl, putting the letter into his pocket, and promiſing to be anſwerable for it. But in the mean time Sir THOMAS not only found opportunity to read it, but to take a copy of it; and from that copy (and it is thought by his means) it was ſoon after printed. On the

evening of the next day, when Lord RUSSEL was executed, the Dean was ſent for to the cabinet-council and carefully examined touching that Lord's behaviour before and at his death. The King particularly commended the Dean's letter, and wondered what could be ſaid to it. He told his Majeſty the Lord RUSSEL's opinion, that ſuch circumſtances there might be, in which it would be lawful to reſiſt; and farther intimated, as tho' it was his own, that it was not impoſſible to find out a caſe of exception, tho' he would not preſently pretend to ſpecify it. The Duke of *York*, who was willing to believe there was none, with ſome warmth urg'd him to name the caſe, and not being ſatisfied, the King more mildly ſaid, "brother, the Dean ſpeaks like an "honeſt man; preſs him no farther." After which he informed his Majeſty, that Lord RUSSEL had declared to him, that he was perſuaded, that the King had never done any thing to juſtify any one in rebelling againſt him: That he had never any ſuch thought himſelf; and kept company with thoſe unhappy men, only to preſerve the Duke of *Monmouth* from being led into any raſh undertaking by them, and more particularly the Earl of *Shafteſbury*. Being then aſk'd, why Lord RUSSEL did not diſcover their deſign to the King? his anſwer was, that that Lord had ſaid, he could not betray his friends, nor turn informer againſt them, while he ſaw there was no danger: But if things had come to a criſis, he would have contrived ſome notice to have been given the King of it; and in caſe of violence, would himſelf have been ready to oppoſe them with his ſword in his hand. The King himſelf confirmed the truth of the greateſt part

part of this account, and in concluſion ſaid, JAMES (meaning the Duke of *Monmouth*) *has told me the ſame thing.*

The firmneſs of Lord RUSSEL in refuſing the only means of purchaſing his life from an exaſperated court, by the leaſt retractation of an opinion, of which his conſcience was thoroughly perſuaded, is the ſtrongeſt proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him ſo much weight and influence in his own time, and have endear'd him to poſterity, being, as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, no enemy to the prerogative, acknowledges [r], "a perſon in general repute of "an honeſt worthy gentleman, without tricks, "or private ambition." Dr. SPRATT, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in his *True account and declaration of the horrid conſpiracy againſt* King CHARLES II. by whoſe order it was written, though not publiſh'd till under his ſucceſſor, has indeed deſcrib'd his Lordſhip, "as a perſon carried away "beyond his duty and allegiance into this "traiterous enterpriſe by a vain air of popu-"larity, and a wild ſuſpicion of loſing a great "eſtate by an imaginary return of Popery [s]." But this very writer declared afterwards, in his *Second letter to the Earl of* Dorſet, dated *March* 26. 1689, that he lamented his Lordſhip's fall, after he was fully convinc'd by diſcourſe with the Dean of *Canterbury*, of his great *probity, and conſtant abhorrence of falſhood.* And theſe were qualities, which his Lordſhip's excellent Lady, RACHEL, ſecond daughter of that great and honeſt ſtateſman THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, Earl of *Southampton*, Lord-High-Treaſurer after the reſtoration till his death, repreſents as peculiarly

[r] Memoirs, *p.* 112. [s] *P.* 21. *Edit.* 1685. *fol.*

liarly eminent in him in her letters, of which a large collection is ſtill extant, written with an uncommon force of ſtyle and ſentiment. In one of them to Dr. JOHN FITZ-WILLIAMS [t], a Divine, for whom ſhe had a great eſteem and friendſhip, dated *July* 21. 1685; a few days after the defeat and death of the Duke of *Monmouth*, ſhe declares her opinion, that his Grace's deſign had no connexion with any, in which Lord RUSSEL might be ſuppoſed to be engaged, and of which ſhe was convinced he was innocent. "I take this late wild attempt, *ſays ſhe*, to be "a new project not depending on, or being "linkt in the leaſt to any former deſign, if "there was then any real one, which I am ſa-"tisfied was not, no more than my own Lord "confeſs'd, talk; and, it is poſſible, that talk "going ſo far as to conſider, if a remedy to "ſuppoſed evils might be ſought, how it could "be formed. . . He had ſo juſt a ſoul, ſo firm, "ſo good, he could not warp from ſuch prin-"ciples, that were ſo, unleſs miſguided by his "underſtanding, and that his own, not an-"other's: for I dare ſay, as he could diſcern, "he never went into any thing conſiderable, "upon the mere ſubmiſſion to any one's par-"ticular judgment."

But whatever honour Lord RUSSEL might gain by his inflexibility againſt diſowning the principle of reſiſtance, the Dean of *Canterbury* and Dr. BURNET have been ſeverely cenſur'd for urging him ſo ſtrongly on that topic. It is not improbable, that neither of them had then ſufficiently

[t] He had been Chaplain to her father, as he was afterwards to the Duke of *York*, Rector of *Cottenham* in *Cambridgeſhire*, and Canon of *Windſor*, which preferments he left after the revolution, upon his refuſal of the oaths.

ſufficiently conſider'd the point, with ſo much attention and exactneſs, as the ſubſequent meaſures of that reign, and the whole ſeries of conduct of the following one, neceſſarily led them to do. The Doctor indeed informs us [u], that, tho' the Dean was reſtrained by ſome particular conſiderations from mentioning in his letter to his Lordſhip the caſe of a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution, which he thought would juſtify reſiſtance; yet he did not decline to explain himſelf in that way, as often as there was occaſion for it; and only differ'd from Lord RUSSEL in opinion with regard to the attempts already made upon the conſtitution, which he did not think juſt grounds of reſiſtance; nor that remote fears and conſequences, together with illegal practices, would authoriſe it: Whereas his Lordſhip declared, that upon this hypotheſis "he did not ſee a difference between a legal "and a *Turkiſh* government; and that in a caſe "of total ſubverſion, it would be too late to "reſiſt." His Lordſhip's opinion upon the ſubject of reſiſtance was juſtified by his Chaplain, Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON, in a paper written ſoon after; the impreſſion of which was ſeiz'd at the ſame time with his *addreſs* to King JAMES's II's army; tho' not deſign'd to be publiſhed at that time. The deſign of this paper was to ſhew, that *reſiſtance may be uſed, in caſe our religion and rights ſhould be invaded*, as an anſwer to the Dean's letter to his Lordſhip; and it is reprinted among Mr. JOHNSON's *works* [w], who obſerves, that this opinion could not be wreſted from his Lordſhip at his death, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages, at which he was taken, "when "he

[u] Reflections, *p.* 38, 42. and *p* 90. [w] *P.* 159.

" he was practiſed upon to retract that opinion, " and to bequeath a legacy of ſlavery to his " country." And indeed the Dean was ſo apprehenſive of Lady RUSSEL's diſpleaſure at his preſſing his Lordſhip, tho' with the beſt intentions, upon that ſubject, that when he was firſt admitted to her after her Lord's death, he is ſaid to have addreſs'd her in this manner, that he firſt thanked GOD, and then her Ladyſhip, for that opportunity of juſtifying himſelf to her; and they ſoon returned to the terms of a cordial and unreſerved friendſhip.

In 1684 the Dean performed again the office of an editor in the publication of the firſt volume, followed the next year by a ſecond, of *Diſcourſes*, full of excellent ſentiments in a ſtrong, clear, and unaffected ſtyle, from the manuſcript notes of his friend Dr. HEZEKIAH BURTON, who had, by his intereſt with the Chapter of *St. Paul's*, been ſettled in the Rectory of *Barnes* in *Surry* about a year before his death, which was occaſioned by a malignant fever in *Auguſt* or *September* 1681. He had been educated in *Magdalen-College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow, and an eminent tutor there, and was incorporated in the degree of Maſter of arts in the univerſity of *Oxford July* 11th 1654 [x]. Entering into holy orders, he was ordain'd Prieſt by Dr. ROBERT SANDERSON on the 13th of *February* 166$\frac{0}{1}$, at the church of *St. Botolph Alderſgate* [y]; and upon the advancement of Sir ORLANDO BRIDGMAN, who had been educated in the ſame college, to the poſt of Lord-keeper from that of Lord-chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, upon the diſgrace of the Earl of *Clarendon*

[x] WOOD. Faſti Oxon, *Vol.* II. *col.* 107.
[y] KENNET's regiſter and chronicle, *p.* 375.

rendon in 1667, was appointed Chaplain to his Lordſhip, by whom he was preſented to a Prebend of *Norwich* in *October* the ſame year, and to the Rectory of *St. George*'s in *Southwark*, which he reſign'd after he was preſented to that of *Barnes*. His great modeſty prevented him from publiſhing any thing in his life-time, except the ſhort *Alloquium ad lectorem*, prefix'd to the excellent treatiſe *De legibus naturæ* of Dr. CUMBERLAND, afterwards Biſhop of *Peterborough*, who had been his Fellow-collegiate and Fellow-chaplain. The Dean has given us his character in the preface to the firſt volume of his *Diſcourſes*, which, tho' they want the exactneſs, that they would have had, if they had been deſign'd and prepar'd for the preſs by the author's own hand, yet have the perfection chiefly aimed at by him, being well fitted to do good, and to make the reader wiſer and better. For Dr. BURTON thoroughly underſtood the nature of religion, the excellent deſign, and the happy effects of it, where it is ſincerely embraced and entertain'd; and he knew how to diſtinguiſh genuine and ſubſtantial piety, from that which is counterfeit and ſuperficial. He had likewiſe a juſt and lively ſenſe of the vaſt concernment and importance of religion, both to the private and public, the preſent and future, the temporal and eternal happineſs of mankind; which made him ſeek out all ſorts of arguments to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity and unſpeakable advantages of religion, and all kinds of motives and inducements to perſuade and allure them to the practice of it; that ſo, by one conſideration or other, he might take hold of all capacities and tempers of men. His

virtues

virtues and good qualities were as eminent as his abilities and learning, particularly his great piety towards GOD, the native ſimplicity of his mind and manners, the ſingular kindneſs of his converſation, and his chearful readineſs to every good work. And the public ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of him in the ripeneſs of his age, when he was capable of doing the greateſt ſervice to the church of GOD, "and in "a time, *adds the Dean*, when he was moſt "likely to have contributed conſiderably to it, "as being by the incomparable ſweetneſs of his "temper, and prudence of his behaviour, ad-"mirably fitted to allay thoſe heats, which then "began to break out, but are ſince blown up "to all the degrees of a violent and implacable "enmity, by the ſkill and induſtry of a crafty "and reſtleſs party among us, playing upon "our weakneſs, and perſuading us to receive "odious names of diſtinction, and to fling them "like ſquibs and fire-balls at one another, to "make the *Philiſtines* ſport."

The acceſſion of King JAMES II. to the throne, on the 6th of *February* 168$\frac{4}{5}$, was ſoon followed with ſuch a proſpect of danger to the religion and liberties of the nation, as filled the Dean with the deepeſt concern for both; tho' in the event the imprudence and violence of the meaſures purſued by that prince defeated his deſigns againſt them; a conſequence foreſeen by the wiſer perſons of his own religion. For Monſ. GOURVILLE, a man of great credit in the court of *France*, being aſked by Madam HAMILTON, afterwards Ducheſs of *Tyrconnel*, then going to *England*, what anſwer ſhe ſhould return for him to the King, who would aſk her what he

he ſaid of the great progreſs, which he was making for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Roman-Catholic religion in that kingdom, he deſired her to tell his Majeſty, that if himſelf was Pope, his Majeſty would have been excommunicated before that time, ſince he was going to ruin all the Catholics in *England:* And tho' what had been lately done in *France* might probably be his model, yet the caſe was very different; and that a better plan for him to have followed would have been, to have contented himſelf with favouring the Catholics upon all occaſions, and ſo increaſing their numbers, and to leave to his ſucceſſors the taſk of reducing *England* by degrees under the Papal authority [z].

The Dean's *Diſcourſe againſt tranſubſtantiation*, printed towards the end of King CHARLES II's life, and of which the fourth edition appeared in 1685, began the debate upon that doctrine, and gave occaſion to ſeveral tracts on both ſides of the queſtion, publiſhed during the controverſy with the Papiſts, which ſubſiſted thro' the reſt of the ſhort, but unhappy reign of King JAMES, and produced ſo many pieces, that the vaſt collection publiſh'd a few years ago, in three volumes in folio, under the direction of Dr. GIBSON Biſhop of *London*, is only a part of thoſe written by the Proteſtants; and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. WAKE, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. GEE, Dean of *Lincoln* and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, and the lateſt by Mr. FRANCIS PECK, are defective in the titles of them. The moſt conſiderable of thoſe publiſh'd againſt the Dean of *Canterbury*'s

[z] Memoires de Monſ. DE GOURVILLE, *Tom.* II. *p.* 254. *Edit.* Paris 1724. in 12°.

Canterbury's *Diſcourſes* were the two following, the former intitled, *Tranſubſtantiation defended and proved from Scripture, in anſwer to the firſt part of a treatiſe intitled,* A diſcourſe againſt tranſubſtantiation: *the firſt part; publiſhed with allowance,* London 1687 in 4to. the *ſecond part* of which never appear'd. The latter was publiſhed there the ſame year in the ſame form, under the title of *an anſwer to* A diſcourſe againſt tranſubſtantiation; the author of which in his *introduction* ſays, that he thought himſelf oblig'd in Chriſtian duty to endeavour a *diſcovery* of the Dean's *winning artifices,* and *a removal of his plauſible appearances* in that diſcourſe.

Another of the Dean's tracts was *A diſcourſe againſt purgatory,* publiſhed in the beginning of *March* 168$\frac{4}{5}$ [a], ſoon after the death of King CHARLES II. And this is a clear confutation of a doctrine of the church of *Rome* as ill founded, and as beneficial to its clergy, as any one perhaps in its whole ſyſtem.

He had now likewiſe a new reaſon for his zeal againſt that church, beſides thoſe of a more general and public nature; and it was founded upon this incident. His friend Mr. NELSON, who had return'd from his travels abroad in the beginning of *Auguſt* 1682, had contracted there an acquaintance with Lady THEOPHILA LUCY, widow of Sir KINGSMILL LUCY of *Broxburn* in *Hertfordſhire,* Bart. and ſecond daughter of GEORGE Earl of BERKLEY; who ſoon diſcover'd a ſtrong paſſion for him. This concluded in a marriage after their arrival in *England*; but it was ſome time before ſhe confeſs'd to Mr. NELSON the change of her religion, which

[a] WOOD. Ath. Oxon. *vol.* II. *col.* 1068.

which was owing to her converſations at *Rome* with Cardinal PHILIP HOWARD, who was grandſon of THOMAS Earl of ARUNDEL, the collector of the antiquities, and had been rais'd to the purple by Pope CLEMENT X. in *May* 1675. Nor was this important alteration of her religious ſentiments confin'd to her own mind, but involv'd in it her daughter by her firſt huſband, whom ſhe drew over to her new religion; and her zeal for it prompted her even to engage in the liſts of the public controverſy then depending; for ſhe is the ſuppos'd author of a piece printed in 1686 in 4to, under the title of *A diſcourſe concerning a judge of controverſy in matters of religion, ſhewing the neceſſity of ſuch a judge*; a point, the full conſideration of which afterwards recover'd another of her own ſex, and one of its greateſt ornaments, Mrs. COCKBURNE [b], from the *Romiſh* profeſſion, into which ſhe had been ſeduc'd in her early years. The Dean's concern for this unhappy ſtep of Lady THEOPHILA occaſion'd him, among other means of reclaiming her, to write to her a letter of conſiderable length upon that ſubject, which is unfortunately miſſing among the papers of her huſband; but is remember'd to have concluded to this purpoſe; that he did not doubt, but that her Ladyſhip was as much wearied with reading ſo long a letter, as himſelf was in writing it; and that ſhe might imagine, that his time lay heavy upon his hands: but the truth was, that every thing, which related to Mr. NELSON, lay ſo near his heart, that he could not ſay

[b] Life of Mrs. CATHERINE COCKBURNE, *p.* xxx. *prefix'd* to the firſt volume of her works, printed at *London* 1751 in 8vo.

ſay leſs upon ſuch an occaſion. But the ſtrength of her prejudices was ſuperior to the goodneſs of his cauſe, and the abilities of ſo able an advocate; and notwithſtanding the endeavours of Mr. NELSON, who was himſelf well inſtructed in that cauſe, as appears from a tract of his printed in 1687 in 4to, and intitled, *Tranſubſtantiation contrary to ſcripture; or the Proteſtant's anſwer to the ſeeker's requeſt*; yet ſhe continued in the communion of the church of *Rome* till her death in 1705.

The proſecution of the Proteſtants in *France*, begun ſome years before, but now carried to its height by the repeal of the edict of *Nantes* in *October* 1685, was not only a freſh proof to the Dean of the genuine ſpirit of unreſtrain'd Popery, but an occaſion of exerting his own pity and humanity towards thoſe diſtreſs'd perſons, who eſcap'd thence to *England*, and had the peculiar recommendation of ſuffering for religion. King CHARLES II had as early as the year 1682 granted briefs for collecting money for the relief of theſe refugees; and his example was afterwards followed by his ſucceſſor, who pretended on all occaſions a tenderneſs and moderation in matters of religion, or more probably was in this caſe influenc'd by motives of policy for the ſake of adding induſtrious and uſeful people to his kingdom. The granting of theſe briefs gave the Dean an opportunity of ſhewing his regard for the perſecuted *French* Proteſtants, by promoting the contributions in their favour. And the warmth of his zeal upon this occaſion is evident from an anſwer, which he return'd to Dr. BEVERIDGE, one of the Prebendaries of his cathedral, who from a coolneſs towards foreign

reign Proteſtants, or an unneceſſary ſcruple with reſpect to forms even in affairs of weight and ſubſtance, had objected to the reading of one of theſe briefs there, as contrary to the rubric. The Dean's reply was ſhort and ſignificant, "Doctor, "doctor, charity is above rubrics."

The friendſhip between the Dean and Lady RUSSEL was cultivated by a frequent correſpondence of letters during their abſence, ſome of which will be found in the courſe of this *Life* of him. Her Ladyſhip had written to him in *October* 1685, in which letter ſhe mention'd the ſmall-pox having prov'd fatal to a couſin of hers, a niece of her couſin-german Monſ. ROUVIGNY, afterwards Earl of *Galway*, and General of the *Engliſh* forces in *Spain*; which young lady ſhe ſpeaks of in another letter to Dr. FITZ-WILLIAMS of the 11th of *October*, *as a pattern to all who knew her*. The Dean's anſwer was as follows *:

"*Canterbury*, *Nov.* 21ſt. 1685.

"HONOUR'D MADAM,

"WHEN I look back upon the date of "your Ladyſhip's letter, I bluſh to ſee "it hath lain by me ſo long unanſwered. And "yet I aſſure you no day paſſeth, in which "your Ladyſhip and your dear children are not "in my mind. But I know not how, in the "hurry I am in in *London*, one buſineſs preſſeth "ſo hard upon another, that I have leſs time for

 "the

* From a collection of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON's letters to Lady RUSSEL, in the poſſeſſion of EDMUND late Lord Biſhop of *London*, communicated to me by his Lordſhip's executors, the late Dr. BETTESWORTH, Dean of the Arches, and GEORGE GIBSON, Eſq;

" the things, to which I have moſt inclination:
" I am now for a while got out of the tumult
" and noiſe of that great city, and do enjoy a
" little more repoſe.

" It was a great trouble to me to hear of the
" ſad loſs your dear friend ſuſtain'd during his
" ſhort ſtay in *England*. But, in ſome circum-
" ſtances, to die is to live. And that voice from
" heaven runs much in my mind, which St.
" JOHN heard in his viſion of the laſt (as I think)
" and moſt extreme perſecution, which ſhould
" befal the faithful ſervants of GOD before the
" final downfal of *Babylon*, *Bleſſed are the dead,*
" *that die in the Lord, from henceforth*; mean-
" ing, that they were happy, that were taken
" away before that terrible and utmoſt trial of the
" faith and patience of the ſaints. But however
" that be, I do greatly rejoice in the preſerva-
" tion of your children from the great danger
" they were in upon that occaſion, and thank
" GOD heartily for it, becauſe, whatever be-
" comes of us, I hope they may live to ſee bet-
" ter things.

" Juſt now came the news of the prorога-
" tion of the parliament to the 10th of *Fe-*
" *bruary*, which was ſurpriſing to us. We are
" not without hopes, that in the mean time
" things will be diſpoſed to a better agreement
" againſt the next meeting. But when all is
" done, our greateſt comfort muſt be, that we
" are in the hands of GOD, and that he hath the
" care of us. And do not think, Madam, that
" he loves you the leſs for having put ſo bit-
" ter a cup into your hand. He, whom he
" loved infinitely beſt of all mankind, drank
" much deeper of it.

" I

" I did hope to have waited upon my Lord " of *Bedford* at my return to *London*; but now " I doubt this prorogation will carry him into " the country before that time. I intreat you to " preſent my moſt humble ſervice to his Lord- " ſhip, to dear little maſter, and the young ladies. " I am not worthy of the conſideration you are " pleas'd to have of me, but I pray continually " for you all, and ſhall ever be, Madam,

" Your Ladyſhip's moſt faithful

" and humble ſervant,

" Jo. Tillotson."

The Dean's love of truth and juſtice to all men, without diſtinction, led him in the beginning of the following year to do right to the character of Mr. William Penn. This gentleman, who was ſon of Sir William Penn, Admiral in the expedition againſt *Hiſpaniola*, and at the taking of *Jamaica*, in the time of the Protector Cromwell, and Vice-admiral of *England* under King Chales II, had ſome part of his education at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and then travell'd into *France*; but joining the Quakers in 1666 at the age of twenty-two, ſoon became one of the moſt conſiderable preachers and writers amongſt them, though he is now much leſs known to the public by his works, reprinted in two volumes in folio in 1726, than by the flouriſhing colony, which bears his name, and was eſtabliſh'd by him in 1681. His attachment to, and favour with King James II, ſoon expoſed him to the imputation of being a Papiſt in diſguiſe, or at leaſt of holding a correſpondence with Jeſuits at *Rome*. The Dean's ſuſpicions of

the ſame kind being reported to Mr. PENN, the latter wrote immediately to him in his own juſtification; affirming himſelf to be "no Ro-"man Catholic, but a Chriſtian, whoſe creed "is the ſcripture; of the truth of which, *ſays* "*he*, I hold a nobler evidence, than the beſt "church authority in the world." The reſult was, that he gave the Dean ſuch ſatisfaction upon that head, that the latter returned him two letters expreſſing that ſatisfaction [c]. In the former of theſe, dated *January* 26th 168$\frac{5}{6}$, he declares his full concurrence with Mr. PENN in abhorring the two principles mentioned by him, *obedience upon authority without conviction*, and *deſtroying them, that differ from us, for God's ſake*; and he affirms, that he had endeavoured to make it one of the governing principles of his life, never to abate any thing of humanity or charity to any man for his difference from him in opinion; "and particularly, *adds he*, to thoſe of your "perſuaſion, as ſeveral of them have had the "experience. I have been ready upon all occa-"ſions to do all offices of kindneſs, being truly "ſorry to ſee them ſo hardly uſed; and tho' "I thought them miſtaken, yet in the main I "believed them to be very honeſt."

In *November* 1687 he loſt another of his daughters, and the laſt ſurviving of his children, MARY, the wife of JAMES CHADWICKE, Eſq; by whom ſhe left two ſons, and a daughter. This loſs, as he obſerved in a letter of the 11th of that month to Mr. NELSON then in *London*, deeply pierced his heart; "but I endeavour, "*adds he*, to do as becomes me, and as I "know

[c] Life of WILLIAM PENN, *p.* 126—128. *prefix'd to the firſt volume of his* works, *Edit.* London 1726, *fol.*

" know I ought." This misfortune probably occaſioned him to retire to *Canterbury*, whence he wrote again to that gentleman on the 7th of *December* to return his own and his wife's thanks to him, and to thoſe honourable perſons, who, upon Mr. NELSON's motion, had been ſo charitable in their contributions, moſt probably to the *French* Proteſtants in that city, ſince he requeſts him to lay out five pounds in *French* bibles bound, and to deſire Mr. FIRMIN to ſend them thither.

Not long after this, the Dean was ſeiz'd with a diſorder of the apoplectic kind; but eſcaped the conſequences of it, without any return till that fatal one about ſeven years after. Under the impreſſions of this melancholy ſtroke, and the loſs of his daughter juſt before, he was called upon himſelf to adminiſter conſolation to an intimate and worthy friend, Mr. NICHOLAS HUNT of *Canterbury*, lingering under the apprehenſions of death from an incurable cancer. This he did in a letter, which on account of the ſubject and the manner of treating it, as well as of the incorrectneſs of the copy of it formerly printed, cannot be omitted here.

" *Edmonton, January* 16th[d] $168\frac{7}{8}$.

" SIR,

" I AM ſorry to underſtand by Mr. JANEWAY's " letter to my ſon, that your diſtemper grows " upon you, and that you ſeem to decline ſo " faſt. I am very ſenſible how much eaſier it " is to give advice againſt trouble in the caſe of " another, than to take it in our own.

[d] Another copy, which I have ſeen, dates it the 26th.

" It hath pleaſed GOD to exerciſe me of late " with a very ſore trial in the loſs of my dear " and only child, in which I do perfectly ſub- " mit to his good pleaſure, firmly believing, " that he always does that, which is beſt. And " yet, tho' reaſon be ſatisfied, our paſſion is " not ſo ſoon appeaſed; and when nature has " received a wound, time muſt be allowed for " the healing of it. Since that, GOD hath " thought fit to give me a nearer ſummons of " a cloſer warning of my own mortality in the " danger of an apoplexy; which yet, I thank " GOD for it, hath occaſioned no very melan- " choly reflections. But this perhaps is more " owing to natural temper, than philoſophy " and wiſe conſideration.

" Your caſe, I know, is very different, who " are of a temper naturally melancholy, and " under a diſtemper apt to increaſe it; for both " which great allowances ought to be made. " And yet methinks both reaſon and religion " do offer us conſiderations of that ſolidity and " ſtrength, as may very well ſupport our ſpirits " under all frailties and infirmities of the fleſh, " ſuch as theſe:

" That GOD is perfect love and goodneſs: " That we are not only his creatures, but his " children, and as dear to him, as to our- " ſelves: That he does not afflict willingly, or " grieve the children of men; and that all evils " and afflictions, which befal us, are intended " for the cure and prevention of greater evils of " ſin and puniſhment; and therefore we ought " not only to ſubmit to them with patience, as " being deſerved by us, but to receive them " with thankfulneſs, as being deſigned by him

" to do us that good, and to bring us to that
" ſenſe of him and ourſelves, which nothing
" elſe perhaps would have done. That the
" ſufferings of this preſent time are but ſhort
" and light, compared with that extreme and
" endleſs miſery, which we have deſerved, and
" with that exceeding and eternal weight of
" glory, which we hope for in the other world.
" That if we be careful to make the beſt pre-
" parations for death and eternity, whatever
" brings us nearer to our end, brings us nearer
" to our happineſs; and how rugged ſoever the
" way be, the comfort is, that it leads us to
" our Father's houſe, where we ſhall want no-
" thing that we can wiſh. When we labour
" under a dangerous diſtemper, which threatens
" our life; what would we not be content to
" bear, in order to a perfect recovery, could
" we but be aſſured of it? And ſhould we not
" be willing to endure much more in order to
" perfect happineſs, and that eternal life, which
" God, that cannot lie, hath promiſed? Na-
" ture, I know, is fond of life, and apt to be
" ſtill lingering after a longer continuance here.
" And yet a long life, with the uſual burthens
" and infirmities of it, is ſeldom deſirable. It
" is but the ſame thing over again, or worſe;
" ſo many more nights and days, ſummers and
" winters, a repetition of the ſame pleaſures,
" but with leſs pleaſure and reliſh, every day;
" a return of the ſame or greater pain and
" trouble, but with leſs ſtrength and patience
" to bear them. Theſe and the like conſide-
" rations I uſe to entertain myſelf withal, not
" only with contentment, but comfort, though
" with great inequality of temper at ſeveral
" times,

" times, and with much mixture of human " frailties, which will always ſtick to us, while " we are in this world. However, by theſe " kinds of thoughts, death will become more " familiar to us, and we ſhall be able by degrees " to bring our minds cloſe up to it, without " ſtarting at it. The greateſt tenderneſs I find " in myſelf is with regard to ſome near rela- " tions, eſpecially the dear and conſtant com- " panion of my life, which I muſt confeſs doth " very ſenſibly touch me. But then I conſider, " and ſo, I hope, will they alſo, that this ſepa- " ration will be but a very little while; and " that tho' I ſhall leave them in a bad world, " yet under the care and protection of a good " GOD, who can be more and better to them " than all other relations, and will certainly " be ſo to thoſe, that love him, and hope in " his mercy.

" I ſhall not need to adviſe you what to do, " and what uſe to make of this time of your " viſitation. I have reaſon to believe, that you " have been careful in the time of your health " to prepare for the evil day, and have been " converſant in thoſe books, which give the " beſt directions to this purpoſe; and have not, " as too many do, put off the great work of " your life to the end of it. And then you " have nothing to do, but, as well as you can, " under your preſent weakneſs and pains, to " renew your repentance for all the errors and " miſcarriages of your life, and earneſtly to beg " GOD's pardon and forgiveneſs of them, for " his ſake, who is the propitiation for our ſins: " to comfort yourſelf in the goodneſs and pro- " miſes of GOD, and the hope of that happi-

" neſs

" neſs you are ready to enter into; and in the " mean time to exerciſe faith and patience for " a little while. And be of good courage, ſince " you ſee land. The ſtorm, which you are in, " will ſoon be over; and then it will be as if " it had never been, or rather the remem- " brance of it will be pleaſant.

" I do not uſe to write ſuch long letters, but " I do heartily compaſſionate your caſe, and " ſhould be glad, if I could ſuggeſt any thing, " that might help to mitigate your trouble, and " make that ſharp and rugged way, through " which you are to paſs into a better world, " a little more ſmooth and eaſy.

" I pray GOD to fit us both for that great " change, which we muſt once undergo; and if " we be but in any good meaſure fit for it, " ſooner or later makes no great difference. I " commend you to the Father of all mercies, and " the GOD of all conſolation, beſeeching him to " increaſe your faith and patience, and to ſtand " by you in your laſt and great conflict; that " when you walk thro' the valley of the ſhadow " of death, you may fear no evil; and when " your heart fails, and your ſtrength fails, you " may find him the ſtrength of your heart, and " your portion for ever.

" Farewell, my good friend; and whilſt we " are here, let us pray for one another, that " we may have a joyful meeting in another " world. I reſt, Sir,

" Your truly affectionate friend and ſervant,

" J. TILLOTSON."

The

The re-eſtabliſhment of his health kept him at *Tunbridge* during the uſual ſeaſon of the year 1688, where he had the honour of frequent converſations with the Princeſs ANNE of *Denmark*, before whom he preached there on the 2d of *September, on the parable of the ten virgins*, in which he took occaſion to expoſe ſome of the moſt dangerous doctrines of the church of *Rome*, and concluded with an exhortation peculiarly adapted to his audience in that critical ſituation of "things, that they ſhould take great care, not "to extinguiſh their lamps by quitting the pro-"feſſion of our holy religion upon any tempta-"tion of advantage, or for fear of any loſs or "ſuffering whatſoever. This occaſion, *adds he*, "will call for all our faith and patience, all "our courage and conſtancy.

"*Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.*"

Immediately after preaching this ſermon he went to *Canterbury*, whence on the 6th of that month he wrote a letter to Lady RUSSEL in anſwer to one from her Ladyſhip. In his letter * he mentions his having left the *good Princeſs* at *Tunbridge*. "As for my friend [e], *ſays he*, who is "ſo mindful in the midſt of his proſperity of "his old friends, I beg of your Ladyſhip to let "him know, that I have a true ſenſe of his con-"ſtant friendſhip. For the paper he mentions, "I believe it is well received generally on both "ſides. For mens heats are much allayed, and "they have now patience to hear of their faults, "if they be told of them in a civil way, with-"out

* Among the collection of Lady RUSSEL's letters.

[e] Dr. FITZ-WILLIAMS.

" out anger or ill will, as that paper does with " great ſkill, conſidering the nicety and tender- " neſs of the ſubject; ſo that if it has not fully " pleaſed both, it hath the good fortune to have " provok'd neither. It is too much, according " to my mind, for me to be fit to commend it. " I will only ſay, that it is both very artificial " and very honeſt, two things, which ſeldom " meet together." This paper was probably Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON'S *way to peace among all Proteſtants: being a letter of reconciliation ſent by Biſhop* RIDLEY *to Biſhop* HOOPER: *with ſome obſervations upon it:* licenſed in *July* 1688, but ſeiz'd ſoon after the publication by order of the Earl of *Sunderland.* Mr. JOHNSON introduces his *obſervations* on that letter of Biſhop RIDLEY with remarking, that as there could not be *a more bleſſed work than to reconcile Proteſtants with Proteſtants*, this was the only deſign of his paper by propoſing the example of two Proteſtant Biſhops, " who wiſely found out the way to put " a happy period to their unhappy differences, " which are the very ſame, as have been ſince " taken up by Proteſtants again, after theſe two " good men had laid them down. In the ſtrug- " glings of RIDLEY and HOOPER, there were " two nations ſtruggling in the womb, the two " great parties of the Conformiſts and Noncon- " formiſts; for theſe two perſons differed about " the ſelf-ſame matters, as we do now, the eſta- " bliſh'd ceremonies, the dreſs of religion, cer- " tain by-matters and circumſtances of religion, " which HOOPER, the Nonconformiſt, could not " comply with; and RIDLEY, the Conformiſt, " becauſe they were according to law, inſiſted " upon, and would not abate."

In

In the month of *November* following, memorable for the landing of the Prince of *Orange* to deliver the nation from the moſt imminent danger to its moſt important intereſts, and for the general defection of the King's friends, the Dean is ſaid to have been employed in drawing up the letter ſent by Prince GEORGE of *Denmark*, upon his leaving his Majeſty at *Andover* on the 24th of that month, in the King's return from *Saliſbury* towards *London*. There is only traditional evidence of this fact, but it is rendered highly probable, by the Dean's intimacy with both their Royal Highneſſes, his known abilities in writing upon ſubjects of the greateſt delicacy, which would naturally recommend his pen upon ſuch an occaſion, and the compoſition of the letter itſelf, which is exactly in his manner, and the following paſſage peculiarly ſo. "I am not ig-
"norant of the frequent miſchiefs wrought in
"the world by factious pretenſions of religion.
"But were not religion the moſt juſtifiable cauſe,
"it would not be made the moſt ſpecious pre-
"tence. And your Majeſty has already ſhewn
"too unintereſted a ſenſe of religion to doubt
"the juſt effects of it in one, whoſe practices
"have, I hope, never given the world cauſe to
"cenſure his real conviction of it, or his back-
"wardneſs to perform what his honour and con-
"ſcience prompt him to."

The King having withdrawn himſelf from *Rocheſter* into *France* on the 23d of *December*, a few days after he had been deſired, for the ſake of the public peace and ſafety, to leave *Whitehall*, whither he had return'd on the 16th upon being ſtop'd at *Feverſham*, and where he had, accord-

ing to a very unſuſpected authority [f], again called together about him the moſt violent Papiſts, without the leaſt regard to any men of prudence and moderation; and the Prince of *Orange* being ſettled in the palace at *St. James's*, the Dean was deſired to preach before him there on *Sunday* the 6th of *January* $168\frac{8}{9}$: And the convention, which met on the 22d of that month, having appointed *Thurſday* the 31ſt for a day of *public thankſgiving to almighty God*, in the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ten miles diſtant, *for having made his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *the glorious inſtrument of the great deliverance of this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power*; he preach'd a ſermon upon that occaſion at *Lincolns-Inn* chapel, which he publiſh'd ſoon after, with a dedication to the ſociety there, in which he acknowledg'd himſelf much indebted to them for their *great and continued reſpects* to him, and kind acceptance of his labours among them, for above the ſpace of five and twenty years. In this ſermon, having recapitulated the ſeveral judgments inflicted upon the nation from the earlieſt times, and repreſented the greatneſs of their late deliverance, with the ſtrangeneſs of the means, by which it had been effected, and the ſuddenneſs

[f] That of the learned Mr. Henry Wharton, then Chaplain to Archbiſhop Sancroft, who in his manuſcript hiſtory and diary of his own life, written in *Latin*, in the poſſeſſion of the Rev^d. Mr. Calamy, containing a very odious picture of King James II's government, has under the 16th of *December* 1688 enter'd the following remark: *Rex urbem deductus eſt: cum more ſolito perditiſſimorum pontificiorum è latebris ad adventum ejus erumpentium ſatellitium acciret, iiſque ſolis aurem præberet, excluſis cordatioribus viris, pontificioſque dimittere præfractè recuſaret; Princeps* Auriacus *proceresque Regni illi urbe cedendum eſſe denunciârunt, & Belgarum turmâ ſtipatum* Roceſtriam *deduci curarunt die* 18.

neſs and eaſineſs of it, he concludes with an advice ſuitable to his own temper, recommending clemency and moderation; "making, *ſays he*, "as few examples of ſeverity, as will be conſiſtent with our future ſecurity from the like "attempts upon our religion and laws. And "even in the execution of juſtice upon the "greateſt offenders, let us not give ſo much "countenance to the ill examples, which have "been ſet, of extravagant fines and puniſhments, as to imitate thoſe patterns, which "with ſo much reaſon we abhor; no, not in "the puniſhment of the authors of them." Another of his advices was, to be for once ſo wiſe, as not to forfeit the fruits of this deliverance, or to deprive themſelves of the benefit and advantages of it by breaches and diviſions among them. "As we have no reaſon, *con-*"*tinues he*, to deſire it, ſo I think we can "hardly ever hope to underſtand Popery better, and the cruel deſign of it, than we do "already, both from the long tryal and experience, which we have had of it in this nation, "and likewiſe from that diſmal and horrid "view, which hath of late been given us, of "the true ſpirit and temper of it in one of our "neighbour nations, which hath long pretended "to the profeſſion of the moſt refin'd and moderate Popery in the world, but hath now "at laſt ſhew'd itſelf in its true colours, and "in the perfection of a perſecuting ſpirit, and "hath therein given us a moſt ſad and deplorable inſtance of a religion corrupted and "degenerated into that, which, if poſſible, is "worſe than none." He appears from this ſermon to have been perſuaded of the Papiſts being

being concern'd in the fire of *London*; obſerving, that there was *too much reaſon to believe, that the enemy did this, that perpetual and implacable enemy of the peace and happineſs of our nation.* And this perſuaſion of his is mention'd by Biſhop BURNET [z], who adds, that the Dean related to him a circumſtance, which made the Papiſts employing ſuch a craz'd perſon as HUBERT, a *French* man of that religion, in ſuch a ſervice, the more credible. Mr. LANGHORN, the Popiſh counſellor at law, who for many years paſs'd for a Proteſtant, but was afterwards executed for the Popiſh plot, was diſpatching a half-witted man to manage elections in *Kent* before the reſtoration. Mr. TILLOTSON being preſent, and obſerving, what a ſort of man he was, aſk'd Mr. LANGHORN, how he could employ him in ſuch ſervices. His anſwer was, that it was a maxim with him, in dangerous ſervices to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but ſecret, and obey orders; for if they ſhould change their minds, and turn informers inſtead of agents, it would be eaſy to diſcredit them, and to carry off the weight of any diſcoveries they could make, by ſhewing that they were mad-men, and ſo not like to be truſted in critical things.

The government being ſettled upon King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, who were proclaim'd on *Aſh-wedneſday* the 13th of *February* $168\frac{8}{9}$, and crown'd on the 11th of *April* following, ſome of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners under King JAMES thinking it neceſſary to excuſe their acting under ſo illegal a commiſſion, the

[z] Hiſtory of his own time, *Tom.* I. *p.* 230.

the Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, addreſs'd his apology, dated at *Whiteball*, *March* 27. to the Dean; who had uſed all his efforts in favour of his Lordſhip, while that commiſſion was in queſtion. "Nothing in this world, *ſays the Earl*, is, or ought to be, ſo dear to any man as his reputation; and conſequently the defence of it is the greateſt obligation, that one man can lay upon another. There are alſo ſome circumſtances, that render this obligation yet more acceptable and valuable; as when it is conferr'd generouſly, without any ſelf-intereſt, or at leaſt deſire or invitation from the perſon ſo defended. All this happens to be my caſe at this time; and therefore I hope you will not be ſurpriſed to find I am not the moſt ungrateful and inſenſible man living; which certainly I ſhould be, if I did not acknowledge all your induſtrious concern for me about the buſineſs of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which now makes ſo much noiſe in the world. You have, as I am told, ſo cordially pleaded my cauſe, that it is almoſt become your own. And therefore unwilling as I am to ſpeak of myſelf, eſpecially in a buſineſs, which I cannot wholly excuſe; yet, I think myſelf now a little oblig'd to ſhew, that my part in this matter, tho' imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of ſo juſt and ſo conſiderable an advocate." He then repreſents, that he had been kept out of all the ſecret counſels of that reign, and had taken all occaſions to oppoſe the *French* intereſt, which he knew to be directly oppoſite both to the King's and kingdom's good. He owns himſelf

now as ſenſible of his error in ſitting in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, as he was at firſt ignorant of it, being ſo unhappily converſant in the midſt of a perpetual court-flattery, as never to have heard the leaſt word of any illegality in that commiſſion, before he was unfortunately engag'd in it; which he was deſirous to have avoided, if poſſible, as a troubleſome employment, that had not the leaſt temptation of honour or profit to recommend it; and in which therefore he continued upon no account in the world, but to ſerve both King and Clergy with the little ability he had, in moderating thoſe counſels, which he thought might grow higher, if he left his place to be fill'd by any of thoſe, who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill deſigns. Beſides which, it was to be be conſider'd, that one of the important affairs, which paſs'd in that eccleſiaſtical court, the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop of *London*, was done ſome months before the Earl was a commiſſioner; and the other, the incapacitating the members of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, was oppoſed by his Lordſhip both in voting and ſpeaking, with all the intereſt, that he was able to make; and he never acted in that court after, except in reſtoring the Biſhop of *London*. His Lordſhip adds, that he had in his office of Lord-chamberlain filled the vacancies of the Chaplainſhips to the King with the ableſt approv'd Divines whom he could find, moſt commonly recommended to him by the Biſhops, who were not of the court; believing, that it had been better for the King, as well as the kingdom, if the greater eccleſiaſtical dignities had been diſpoſed of by others with as much caution. " And thus, Sir, *concludes his*

" *Lordſhip*, I have endeavour'd to confirm you
" in your favourable opinion of me, which
" muſt be acknowledged by every body an ap-
" probation of ſuch weight, that, as I hope it
" may be an example of authority to many, ſo
" it is ſufficient of itſelf to balance the cenſo-
" rioufneſs of others."

Another of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, for whom the Dean interceded, and at laſt obtain'd favour, was Dr. NATHANIEL CREW, Biſhop of *Durham*, a man much more conſiderable for his birth and ſtation, in which indeed he lived with great hoſpitality, than for the firmneſs and conſiſtency of his conduct. He was fifth ſon of JOHN Lord CREW, to which title he ſucceeded upon the death of his elder brother, and was born *January* 31ſt, $163\frac{3}{4}$. He was educated at *Lincoln College* in *Oxford*, of which univerſity he was Proctor in 1663. In *April* 1668 he was made Clerk of the cloſet to King CHARLES II, and the ſame month Dean of *Chicheſter*, and in 1671 Biſhop of *Oxford*, from which ſee he was tranſlated to that of *Durham* in *October* 1674. Upon the acceſſion of King JAMES II to the crown he was made Dean of the Royal-chapel, and ſworn of the Privy-council, and in 1686 was appointed of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, expreſſing his high ſatisfaction in it, that his name would now be recorded in hiſtory [h]. He was likewiſe commiſſion'd with Dr. SPRAT, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. WHITE, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, upon the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop of *London*, to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in that dioceſe. In this office he was preſent in *February* $168\frac{6}{7}$, at

[h] BURNET, *vol. I. p.* 676.

at the examination of Mr. HENRY WHARTON for orders, and admiring the readineſs of his anſwers, promis'd to make Mr. WHARTON his Chaplain, but broke his word with him; for which reaſon that learned writer, in his MS. Diary of his life, ſpeaks of him with great contempt, as a man of no veracity [i]. His Lordſhip was on all occaſions ſo compliant with the court, that he was forward in ſhewing reſpect to the Pope's Nuncio ſent thither; and refus'd to introduce Dr. PATRICK, Dean of *Peterborough*, to kiſs the King's hand, on account of his zeal againſt Popery [k]. But the apprehenſion of the Prince of ORANGE's landing immediately put an end to his concurrence with the meaſures of King JAMES, from whoſe council-board he withdrew: and the dread of the conſequences of his former behaviour induc'd him to abſcond upon the abdication of that King, in which ſituation he offer'd to compound for his offences by a reſignation of his Biſhopric [l], particularly to Dr. BURNET, on whoſe generoſity he would depend for an allowance of a thouſand pounds a year during his life; which offer the Doctor refuſed [m]. The Biſhop afterwards ventured out of his retreat to the Convention-parliament, in order to make a merit with the new government by voting for it [n]. But their Majeſties had ſo ill an opinion of him, that he was excepted out of the act of Indemnity paſs'd in 1690. However at laſt a full pardon

[i] *Levis iſte ac veſipellis Epiſcopus: . . . Summam leviſſimi Viri perfidiam deteſtatus.*

[k] General Dictionary, article PATRICK (SAMUEL).

[l] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 822.

[m] Life of Biſhop BURNET, *p.* 696.

[n] BURNET, *vol. I. p.* 822.

was procured for him by the Dean, as well from his own diſpoſition to offices of that kind, as the ſollicitations of his friend Dr. WILLIAM BATES, the politeſt writer among the Preſbyterians of his time, who had been engaged in the Biſhop's intereſt. His Lordſhip lived to the age of eighty-eight, dying *Sept.* 12, 1722.

During the debate in Parliament concerning the Settlement of the crown on King WILLIAM for life, the Dean was adviſed with upon that point by the Princeſs ANNE of *Denmark*, who had at firſt refuſed to give her conſent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the Lady CHURCHILL, afterwards Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, accordingly took great pains to promote the Princeſs's pretenſions. But that Lady ſoon finding, that all endeavours of this kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the King, and that the ſettlement would be carried in Parliament, whether her Royal Highneſs conſented to it, or not; and being fearful about every thing, which the Princeſs did, while ſhe was thought to be adviſed by her Ladyſhip, ſhe could not ſatisfy her own mind, till ſhe had conſulted with ſeveral perſons of undiſputed wiſdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady RUSSEL, and the Dean of *Canterbury*. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the ſettlement propoſed, as things were then ſituated; and therefore carried the Dean to the Princeſs, who, upon what he ſaid to her, took care, that no diſturbance ſhould be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had preſs'd her earneſtly to form an oppoſition [o].

The

[o] Account of the conduct of the dowager Ducheſs of MARLBOROUGH, *p.* 22, 23, 24.

The Dean was now admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence with the King and Queen, before the latter of whom he preach'd at *Whitehall*, on the 8th of *March* $168\frac{8}{9}$, his ſermon concerning *the forgiveneſs of injuries and againſt revenge*, as he did on the 14th of *April* following before both their Majeſties, at *Hampton Court*, that on *the care of our ſouls, and the one thing needful.* And on the 27th of that month he was promoted to an office, which required his frequent attendance near their Majeſties perſons, being appointed Clerk of the cloſet to the King.

The houſe of Commons having the next month appointed a faſt on the 5th of *June*, the Dean was deſired to preach before them on that occaſion: But his indiſpoſition preventing him from being able to perform that duty, the Houſe on the 31ſt of *May* requeſted Dr. TENNISON to ſupply his place, and Mr. WAKE to preach before them in the afternoon of the ſame day.

The vacancies of ſome Biſhoprics ſoon turn'd the thoughts of his Majeſty and his miniſters upon the Dean for filling one of them: But this deſign was ſo far from being agreeable to him, that he uſed all poſſible ſollicitations to avoid it. There are extant in his common-place book the heads of a letter, which he wrote for that purpoſe; but theſe ſo defective, that ſeveral of the ſentences are not filled up, and ſome words omitted thro' haſte or inattention. The name of the nobleman, to whom it was addreſs'd, is not mark'd; but there is little doubt, that it was WILLIAM, Earl of *Portland*, the favourite and confident of King WILLIAM, by whom he had been created an Earl, on the 19th of *April*

1689. The imperfect draught of this letter has ſo many marks of the genius and temper of the writer, as to deſerve to be perpetuated, for want of the finiſh'd letter.

" I Beg of your Lordſhip, who have deſervedly " the freedom and credit with both their " Majeſties, which few others have, to poſſeſs " them of two things; one whereof concerns " the public, and the other myſelf.

" 1ſt. Of the church of *England*. . . . . .

" 2. The other concerns myſelf. And I " earneſtly beg of your Lordſhip to defend me " from a Biſhopric. Few can believe me in " this, but I hope your Lordſhip does. I am " now upon the verge of threeſcore years of age. " I have had great afflictions to wean me from " the world, having, *&c.* I have had a loud " ſummons by a fit of the apoplexy above a " year ago. I feel the infirmities of age grow- " ing upon me. I cannot now do that in three " weeks, which ſince I was fifty I could with " eaſe have done in three days. It is a melan- " choly thought to me to in a Biſhop- " ric, eſpecially in the Houſe of Peers, where " there are ſome wiſe, and ſo many witty young " men, to make obſervations upon an old one. " ——For the ſake of the Proteſtant religion " and their Majeſties, for whom I have ſo true " eſteem, I would take any burden upon me, " which I am able to ſtand under. But I do " not love either the ceremony or trouble of a " great place.——When men are children again, " it is fit they ſhould not appear in public, but " go back into the nurſery.——I deſire to be as " uſeful as I can; but I do not affect to be

" famous,

" famous. I firmly believe another world, in " which I do not think I ſhall be happier for " having been famous in this world. That little " good, which I have been able to do has been " in the city of *London*, which I foreſee will be " ſtript of its ableſt men: And if I can be " ſerviceable any where it is there. They, that " have known me for thirty years, will beſt " bear with my infirmities, and perhaps leaſt " diſcern them, becauſe they ſee me every day, " and the change will be inſenſible to them.

" I thank GOD I have lived to have my laſt " deſire in this world, which was this happy " revolution; and now I care for no more but " to ſee it eſtabliſhed. And I have declared " my ſenſe of this great deliverance ſo openly, " and ſhall always do ſo, that I do not fear to " be ſuſpected of ſullenneſs and diſcontent for " my declining preferment, which is the only " objection, that I can foreſee.——I think it " may be ſomewhat for the honour of our re- " ligion, and the advantage of the government, " to have one ſo hearty for both without any " expectation or deſire of preferment by it. " This is the only vanity I can be thought to " be guilty of; and if no body elſe perhaps is " ſo willing, I am contented to lie under the " burden of it. And it is not inconvenient " there ſhould be an example of one, that " without any viſible intereſt wiſheth well to the " public, and deſires to deſerve well of it.—— " I beg of your Lordſhip, if there be need, as " I hope there will not, to intercede for me in " this particular; and the rather, becauſe I " hope no body will prevent me in this peti- " tion, nor envy me the grant.——As of all

" things

" things I would not diſpleaſe their Majeſties, " ſo I am confident they would not take from " me the happineſs of my life ....."

Inſtances of this kind of ſelf-denial will perhaps be thought rare in any age; but there was a remarkable one under HENRY VIII, of another Dean of *Canterbury*, well known in our hiſtory by his embaſſies and public negotiations in that and the ſucceeding reigns, Dr. NICHOLAS WOTTON, great uncle of Sir HENRY WOTTON. This great politician as well as divine, being inform'd of an intention to advance him to the Mitre, wrote to Dr. BELLASIS, from *Duſſeldorp November* 11th 1539, requeſting him, " for the " paſſion of GOD, to convey that Biſhopric " from him. So I might, *adds he*, avoid it, " without diſpleaſure, I would ſurely never " meddle with it. There be enough, that be " meet for it, and will not refuſe it. I cannot " marvel enough, *cur obtrudatur non cupienti*, " *immò ne idoneo quidem.* My mind is as trou- " bled as my writing is..... Yours to his little " power NICOLAS WOTTON: Add whatſoever " you will more to it, if you add not *Biſhop.*"

But to return to our Dean of *Canterbury*, in *Auguſt* 1689 he was appointed by the Chapter of his cathedral to exerciſe the Archiepiſcopal juriſdiction of that province, devolv'd to himſelf and that body [p], on the 1ſt of that month, by the ſuſpenſion of the Primate, Dr. SANCROFT, for refuſal of the new oaths appointed by

[p] *The Biſhop of* London *ſeem'd to doubt of their right to this juriſdiction; but Dr.* STILLINGFLEET *was clear in that point* in his *letter, which he wrote to his Lordſhip the* 19*th of* Auguſt 1689. *See his* Miſcellaneous diſcourſes, *p.* 234. *& ſeqq.* Edit. *London* 1735.

by the act of Parliament of the 24th of *April*, inſtead of the former of allegiance and ſupremacy; and injoined to be taken by all perſons, who were in any office, civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical, in the kingdom. By the firſt of theſe, allegiance was ſworn to their Majeſties; by the ſecond, the papal and foreign juriſdictions are renounc'd: and by the ſtatute, which enjoins the taking of theſe oaths, it is enacted, that not only ſuch, as ſhall from that time be preferr'd to any eccleſiaſtical dignity or benefice, but all others, then in actual poſſeſſion of any ſuch preferments, ſhould take the ſaid oaths before the firſt of *Auguſt* following, on the penalty of ſuſpenſion for ſix months following; and that at the end of the ſaid ſix months, if they ſtill perſiſted not to take the ſaid oaths, they were *ipſo facto* to be depriv'd. The Archbiſhop's example was followed by ſeveral of the Biſhops, Dr. THOMAS of *Worceſter*, Dr. LAKE of *Chicheſter*, Dr. TURNER of *Ely*, Dr. LLOYD of *Norwich*, Dr. KENN of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. FRAMPTON of *Gloceſter*, and Dr. WHITE of *Peterborough*. His Grace had indeed early ſhew'd his diſinclination to the revolution government, having never waited upon the King and Queen ſince their arrival, nor appear'd in the Houſe of Peers. His Chaplain Mr. WHARTON, in his *diary*, mentions a remarkable circumſtance of his Grace's conduct on the day of their Majeſties proclamation. The Queen had ſent on that very day two of her Chaplains to *Lambeth* to aſk the Archbiſhop's bleſſing; after which they went to the chapel there, with a deſign to obſerve whether their Majeſties were pray'd for. Mr. WHARTON being the only Chaplain of his

Grace

Grace in waiting, and ſollicitous to do nothing, that might injure his patron, conſulted him what he ſhould do upon that occaſion. The Archbiſhop left him to his own diſcretion, declaring, that he would give him no new orders; the other Chaplains having before alter'd the prayers as they thought proper, without any command or reprehenſion from his Grace. Mr. WHARTON therefore imagining, that he might take the ſame liberty, and being concern'd for the ſafety of the Archbiſhop, and for his own part reſolv'd to obey that government, which Providence ſhould eſtabliſh, pray'd in expreſs terms for King WILLIAM and Queen MARY: But the ſame evening his Grace ſent for him, and in a great paſſion, *vehementer excandeſcens*, told him, that he muſt either omit naming the new King and Queen in his prayers, or pray no more in his chapel, ſince they could not be ſo during the life of King JAMES. This Mr. WHARTON imputes to the ſuggeſtions of the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Chicheſter*, and *Ely*, to the great misfortune, ſays he, of the church; for from that time his Grace, who might eaſily have had every thing under his own direction, reſign'd ſo far all authority in the ſtate, that the church on this account was afterwards expos'd to extreme danger[q]. The Archbiſhop perſiſting in his refuſal of the oaths, at the end of his ſix months ſuſpenſion, was depriv'd on the 1ſt of *February* $16\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$, tho' he liv'd with the ſame ſplendor and attendance as before till the 1ſt of *Auguſt*

[q] *Id animi illi indiderant Epiſcopi* Norwicenſis, Ciceſtrenſis, & Elienſis, *peſſimo eccleſiæ fato. Hinc enim Archiepiſcopus, cui facilè fuiſſet res omnes pro libitu ſtatuere, omnem in republicâ authoritatem uſque adeo omiſit, ut eccleſia ipſius cauſâ deinceps maximè periclitari cæperit.*

Auguſt 1690, when he diſmiſs'd moſt of his ſervants, and diſcontinued his public hoſpitality. After the nomination of his ſucceſſor in *April* 1691, he was warn'd by an order from the Queen of the 20th of *May* to leave the palace of *Lambeth*. Before that time he had reſolved to leave all his books to *Lambeth* library, in which they were plac'd, and to that purpoſe had ordered Mr. WHARTON to take an account of them. But thinking himſelf unkindly uſed in being order'd to depart within ten days, he removed his books, and reſolved not to ſtir himſelf, till he ſhould be ejected by law. He was cited therefore to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer upon the firſt day of Trinity Term, *June* 12, 1691, to anſwer a writ of Intruſion; where he appeared by his Attorney ſeveral times; but always cautiouſly avoided putting in any plea, wherein the names of the King or Queen might be mentioned, or their title owned. On *Tueſday* the 23d of that month the Attorney-general mov'd for judgment; when his Grace's council pleaded, that, according to the rules of that court, imparlance ought to be allowed till the next Term; but the Judges alledging, that it was in their own power to change the rules of the court, and that this was an extraordinary caſe, over-ruled their plea, and ordered judgment to paſs, if they would not join iſſue that day; which the Archbiſhop's agents refus'd to do, and ſo judgment paſſed. The ſame day between ſeven and eight in the evening he left *Lambeth*, attended by his Steward, Dr. PAMAN, maſter of the faculties, FR. NICOLLS, and Mr. JACOB, having not given any notice to his Chaplains, nor ſent

for them. He took boat at *Lambeth-bridge*, and went to a private houſe in the *Temple*. The next morning he was waited on by his Chaplains, whom he received with extraordinary kindneſs, and cauſed them to celebrate divine ſervice before him according to the office of the day. That day after dinner at *Lambeth*, the family was diſſolved by the ſteward; all the ſervants having their wages till *Michaelmas* following, and being diſmiſſed with much kindneſs. An alms was likewiſe given to the poor of the pariſh, and a preſent to the Curate, Mr. CLERK. On the *Saturday* following, the Attorney-general ſent a meſſenger to receive poſſeſſion of the palace: But the Steward having orders to deliver it to none beſides the legal officer, refus'd to ſurrender it to him, deſiring, that the Under-ſheriff might come and receive it. The meſſenger accordingly departed, and within two hours brought with him the Under-ſheriff and the writ *ad faciendum*, &c. iſſued out in virtue of the *Conviction* of Intruſion; when poſſeſſion was delivered to him with great civility: but the body of the Steward was attach'd, and carried to the *Marſhalſea*, tho' 10000 *l.* bail was offered; and he was kept there with deſign, as Mr. WHARTON aſſerts [r], of forcing the Archbiſhop thereby to write to the other Biſhops in the ſame circumſtances, to deliver up poſſeſſion without any conteſt, which he refus'd to do; and after ten days the Steward was releas'd upon 100 *l.* bail; and in *Michaelmas* Term following appear'd at the Exchequer bar, where his caſe being argued, he was ſentenced by the Judges in

[r] MS. collections of Mr. H. WHARTON in *Lambeth* library, *p.* 76. *& ſeqq.*

in a fine of 300 marks to the King, which he paid down immediately, and was diſmiſs'd. The Archbiſhop departed privately from *London* on the 3d of *Auguſt*, attended only by his Steward, Mr. JACOB, Mr. NICOLLS, and three other ſervants, and arrived on the 5th at *Frefingfield* in *Suffolk*, where he was born, and where he died *November* 24th 1693, without making a will, to avoid the neceſſity of the probate of it before his ſucceſſor, but only a deed of gift with conditions. In his laſt illneſs, and a day or two before his death, he profeſs'd to Mr. WHARTON his great repentance for all ſins, but more particularly for not having acted with that vigour, authority, and power, in his Archiepiſcopal office, as the cauſe and ſtate of the church might have required, and thereby having omitted to employ the means of ſerving the church of CHRIST, which GOD had put into his hands, to the utmoſt [a]. This condemnation of himſelf for not having exerted a proper vigour and ſpirit in his great ſtation in the church, can ſcarce be underſtood of his conduct after the revolution, when his utmoſt endeavours would not have prevented the ſettlement of the new government, or the ſubmiſſion of the clergy to it. But it may more juſtly be applied to his behaviour before that important event, which had been certainly leſs active and ſpirited, than the dangers and encroachments of Popery requir'd; his timidity and apprehenſions of exaſperating the court having reſtrained him from many things, which were neceſſary to the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion at ſo critical a ſeaſon. Of this we have one remarkable inſtance mention'd by Mr.

[a] Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

Mr. WHARTON in his *diary*, who having tranſlated into *Engliſh* Monſ. DELLON's *Hiſtory of the inquiſition* of *Goa*, printed at *Paris* in *October* 1687, could not procure an *imprimatur* at *Lambeth* for his tranſlation, notwithſtanding his frequent ſollicitations.

Archbiſhop SANCROFT was born on the 30th of *January* $161\frac{6}{7}$, and educated at *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, being matriculated in that univerſity on the 3d of *July* 1634, and afterwards choſen Fellow of that college, next after Dr. WORTHINGTON, who was admitted *April* 4th, 1642 [t]. His refuſal of the *engagement* impos'd after the death of King CHARLES I, occaſioned his being depriv'd of his fellowſhip; upon which he travelled into *France* and *Italy* [u]. He publiſhed at *London* in 1652 in 8vo a ſmall piece, intitled *Modern politics, taken from* MACHIAVEL, BORGIA, *and other modern authors, by an eye-witneſs*; and he joined with Mr. GEORGE DAVENPORT and another of his friends, in compoſing that ſevere ſatire upon *Calviniſm*, intitled *Fur prædeſtinatus* [w], printed at *London* in 1651; and he publiſhed Biſhop ANDREWS's defence of the vulgar tranſlation of the bible, with a preface of his own. In the beginning of the year 1660 he was at *Rome*, but returned to *England* ſoon after the reſtoration of King CHARLES II [x], and

[t] LE NEVE, *p.* 197, 198.

[u] WALKER's ſufferings of the clergy, *Part* II. *p.* 144.

[w] The whole title of this remarkable piece is as follows: *Fur prædeſtinatus: ſive dialogiſmus inter quendam ordinis prædicantium* Calviniſtam *& furem ad laqueum damnatum habitus. In quo ad vivum repræſentatur non tantum quomodo* Calviniſtarum *dogmata ex ſeipſis anſam præbent ſcelera & impietates quaſvis patrandi, ſed inſuper quomodo eadem maximè impediunt, quò minus peccator ad vitæ convendationem & reſipiſcentiam reduci poſſit.*

[x] Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

and on the 8th of *May* that year was choſen one of the univerſity preachers, being then Bachelor of divinity [y]. Upon the advancement of Dr. JOHN COSIN to the Biſhopric of *Durham*, he was appointed Chaplain to his Lordſhip, whoſe conſecration ſermon he preach'd on the 2d of *December* 1660, and dedicated it to him with a *Latin* inſcription. In the convocation of the year 1661, he was particularly uſeful in rectifying the calendar and rubric [z], in which he was aſſiſted by Mr. JOHN PELL, the celebrated mathematician [a]; and in *March* 166½ he was created Doctor of divinity at *Cambridge*, in virtue of his Majeſty's letters patents of the 15th of that month for that purpoſe [b]. The ſame month he was collated by his patron to a Prebend of the church of *Durham*, having been, on the 7th of *December* preceding, preſented by him to the Rectory of *Houghton in the Spring*, in the county palatine of *Durham*; and on the 14th of *Auguſt* 1662 he was elected Maſter of *Emanuel College* [c]. He was advanced to the Deanry of *York* in *January* 166¾, which he held but ten months, and in that time expended in buildings and charges 200*l.* more than he receiv'd. He made a rental of that church, and reduced into order the accounts of it, which had been before wholly neglected. Upon his nomination to the Deanry of *St. Paul's* in *October* 1664, the tenants of that of *York*, being apprehenſive of the covetous temper of his ſucceſſor Dr. ROBERT HITCH, then deſign'd, and earneſtly deſiring him to renew

[y] LE NEVE, *p.* 198.
[z] WALTON's life of Biſhop SANDERSON.
[a] KENNET's regiſter and chronicle, *p.* 574.
[b] Ibid. *p.* 647. [c] WALKER, *ubi ſupra.*

new their leaſes; he abſolutely refus'd, tho' the fines then offer'd amounted to 400 *l.* After the fire of *London* in 1666, he ſpent 1000 *l.* in rebuilding the Deanry houſe at *St. Paul's*, the reſt of the expence being defray'd out of the money brought in from the coal-act for the rebuilding the church and edifices of *St. Paul's*; which act he procured by his unwearied induſtry and ſollicitation [d]. In 1668 on the 7th of *October* he was admitted Archdeacon of *Canterbury* on the King's preſentation, which he held till 1670, and then reſign'd it. He was advanced to the Archbiſhopric in *January* 167$\frac{7}{8}$, while he was Prolocutor of the Convocation, being conſecrated to that See on the 27th of that month [e]. His firmneſs in refuſing with ſix other Biſhops to order the reading King JAMES II's declaration of indulgence, did him great honour; and in *November* 1688 he excuſed himſelf from publiſhing an abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange*'s invaſion, and concurred with other Lords ſpiritual and temporal at the meeting at *Guildhall* on the 11th of *December*, in a declaration to that Prince for a free Parliament and due indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters [f]. But he would not ſubmit to the new ſettlement of the crown. Mr. (afterwards Sir) ISAAC NEWTON happened to be at *Lambeth*, when the news was brought, that the Houſe of Commons had declared the Throne vacant. Upon which the Archbiſhop appeared

[d] Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

[e] LE NEVE, *p.* 200.

[f] Upon theſe facts the common hiſtorians may be compared with the account drawn up by Dr. FRANCIS TURNER, Biſhop of *Ely*, publiſhed in 1717 in 8vo in a pamphlet, intitled, *A vindication of the late Archbiſhop* SANCROFT *and his brethren the reſt of the depriv'd Biſhops, from the reflections of Mr.* MARSHAL *in his* Defence of our conſtitution.

appeared concern'd, expreſſing his wiſhes, that they had proceeded in a more regular method, and examined into the birth of the young child, ſince there was reaſon to believe, that he was not the ſame with the firſt, which might be eaſily known, as he had a mole on his neck. And after he had refus'd the oaths, when Mr. JOHN DUBOURDIEU, Miniſter of the *French* church in the *Savoy*, went to take his leave of him, upon going Chaplain to Duke SCHOMBERG in *Piedmont*, his Grace told him, that he did not doubt, that the foreign Proteſtants would blame his conduct; but he declar'd, that before he took that ſtep, he had foreſeen every thing, that could be ſaid, and even the injury, which it might do to the Proteſtant cauſe; and that he was greatly concern'd, and had faſted and pray'd, but that at laſt his conſcience would not ſuffer him to act any otherwiſe than he had done [g]. Biſhop BURNET repreſents him [h], as a man conſiderably learned, and of ſolemn deportment, with a ſullen gravity in his looks, and a monaſtic ſtrictneſs, and abſtraction from company; dry, cold, reſerved and peeviſh, ſo that none loved him, and few eſteemed him. And indeed, upon an impartial examination of his conduct and character, he will appear to have been ſlow, timorous, and narrow-ſpirited, but at the ſame time a good, honeſt, and well-meaning man. He was very laborious in his ſtudies, and had amaſs'd a vaſt collection of papers, having written perhaps more with his own hand, than any perſon of his time [i]. But

[g] The two laſt facts are taken from the MS. notes of Mr. DES MAIZEAUX.

[h] *Vol.* I. *p.* 392.

[i] Mr. WHARTON's preface to Archbiſhop LAUD's trial.

the three ſermons, which he publiſh'd, give us a very low idea of his taſte and judgment, and are more ſuitable to a diſciple of Biſhop ANDREWS, than a contemporary of Dr. TILLOTSON.

The refuſal of Archbiſhop SANCROFT to acknowledge the government of their Majeſties, made it neceſſary to look out for a ſucceſſor to him. The King ſoon fix'd upon the Dean of *Canterbury* for that purpoſe, whoſe deſires and ambition had extended no farther than the exchange of his Deanry for that of *St. Paul's*, vacant by the promotion of Dr. STILLINGFLEET to the Biſhopric of *Worceſter* upon the death of Dr. THOMAS. This was readily granted him in *September* 1689, and he was inſtall'd on the 21ſt of *November*. It was indeed a conſiderable diminution of his income, as he reſign'd at the ſame time the Reſidentiariſhip of *St. Paul's*. But he choſe, as has been already obſerv'd, to diſburthen himſelf of the load and envy of holding two dignities together. Yet however ſatisfied he was in that ſituation, his Majeſty would not let him reſt till he ſubmitted to a much higher poſt, to which he had an almoſt inconquerable averſion. But before the circumſtances of this affair are open'd, it will be proper to give a juſt repreſentation of another very important one, of which he had the principal ſhare of the trouble while it was depending, and of the odium attending the progreſs and event of it.

This was the ſcheme of a *comprehenſion*, which had been in vain attempted under the reign of CHARLES II, but in the ſucceeding one was projected and promis'd by Archbiſhop SANCROFT, and his brethren, from a ſenſe of the danger

danger of diſunion among Proteſtants. Thoſe of the church, who then ſaw the Papiſts endeavouring to draw the Diſſenters to concur with them in their deſigns againſt the church of *England*, applied to the Prince of ORANGE, deſiring him to make uſe of his intereſt with them for diverting them from ſuch a concurrence; and in the letters wrote for that purpoſe, aſſurances were given, that the church was then in ſuch a temper, and ſo well convinc'd of former errors, that if ever ſhe eſcap'd from her preſent diſtreſs, all thoſe differences ſhould be certainly made up [k]. In the articles recommended by Archbiſhop SANCROFT to all the Biſhops within his metropolitical juriſdiction, on the 16th of *July* 1688, containing ſome heads of things to be more fully inſiſted by the Biſhops in their addreſſes to the Clergy and people of their reſpective dioceſes, the Clergy are adviſ'd "to have a very tender regard to "our brethren the Proteſtant Diſſenters: that "upon occaſion offer'd, they viſit them at their "houſes, and receive them kindly at their own, "treating them fairly where-ever they meet "them, diſcourſing calmly and civilly with "them, perſuading them (if it may be) to a "full compliance with our church, or at leaſt, "that whereto we have already attained, we "may all walk by the ſame rule, and mind the "ſame thing; and, in order thereunto, that "they take all opportunities of aſſuring them, "that the Biſhops of this church are really and "ſincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, "ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the "church of *Rome*, and that the very unkind

[k] Biſhop BURNET's triennial viſitation charge, in 1704.

" jealouſies, which ſome have had of us to the " contrary, were altogether groundleſs. . . . . " And in the laſt place, that they warmly and " moſt affectionately exhort them to join with " us in daily fervent prayer to the GOD of " peace for an univerſal bleſſed union of all " reformed churches, both at home and abroad, " againſt our common enemies; and that all " they, who do confeſs the holy name of our " dear LORD, and do agree in the truth of his " holy word, may alſo meet in one holy com- " munion, and live in perfect unity and godly " love." The Archbiſhop foreſeeing ſome ſuch " revolution, as ſoon after was happily brought about, began to conſider, how utterly unprepared they had been at the reſtoration of King CHARLES II. to ſettle many things to the advantage of the church, and what a happy opportunity had been loſt, for want of ſuch a previous care, as he was therefore deſirous ſhould now be taken for the better and more eſtabliſhment of it. And he at the ſame time was conſidering what might be done to gain the Diſſenters, without doing any prejudice to the church. The ſcheme was laid out, and the ſeveral parts of it were committed, not only with his approbation, but likewiſe direction; to ſuch Divines of the church, as were thought moſt proper to be intruſted with it. His Grace took one part to himſelf: another was committed to Dr. PATRICK, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*. And the reviewing of the daily ſervice and communion book was referr'd to a ſelect number of Divines, of whom Dr. SHARP, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, and Dr. PATRICK were two. The deſign was to improve and inforce the diſcipline of the church, to review

review and inlarge the liturgy, by correcting ſome things, and adding others; and, if it ſhould be thought adviſeable by authority, when this matter ſhould come to be legally conſider'd, firſt in convocation, then in parliament, by leaving ſome few ceremonies, confeſs'd to be indifferent in their natures, as indifferent in their uſage, ſo as not neceſſarily to be obſerv'd by ſuch, who ſhould make a ſcruple of them *.

How far this deſign was, not only known to, but approv'd by the other Biſhops, appears from the petition, for which ſeven of them were committed to the Tower, and try'd, but acquitted; wherein they declar'd their readineſs "to come to ſuch a temper with regard to the "Diſſenters, as ſhould be thought fit, when "that matter ſhall be conſider'd and ſettled in "parliament and convocation." The Prince of ORANGE in his *declaration*, dated at the *Hague*, *October* 10th, 1688, O. S. repreſented, that the deſign of his coming was no other but to have a free and lawful parliament, that ſo the two houſes might concur in the preparing ſuch laws, as they upon full and free debate ſhould judge neceſſary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the law concerning the teſt, and ſuch other laws, as were neceſſary for the ſecurity and maintenance of the Proteſtant religion; as likewiſe for *making ſuch laws, as might eſtabliſh a good agreement between the church of* England *and all Proteſtant Diſſenters, and cover and ſecure all thoſe, who would live peaceably under the government, from all perſecution upon account of their religion.* And Mr. WHARTON

* Speech of Dr. WAKE Biſhop of *Lincoln*, at the opening of the ſecond article of the impeachment againſt Dr. SACHEVERELL, *March* 17. $17\frac{09}{10}$.

TON in his MS. *Diary of his own life*, mentions a diſcourſe of Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, then Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, afterwards of *Worceſter*, to him on the 25th of *June* 1688, four days before the trials of the Biſhops; in which that Prelate having obſerv'd, that the Papiſts had by their injuſtice and tyranny ſo exaſperated the minds of the people in general, that the latter would ſoon drive them out of *England*, and baniſh, or perhaps deſtroy the King himſelf, ſince it was impoſſible for Popery to reign in *England* above a year, and that a wonderful change of things was approaching; he then ſaid, that if himſelf and his brethren ſhould eſcape the preſent rage of the Papiſts, they were reſolv'd to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to purge the church from all corruptions, to procure the admiſſion of the ſober and pious Diſſenters into the church, a thing ſo much wiſh'd for; to relieve even thoſe, who were obſtinate, by aboliſhing the penal laws; and to take intirely away the abuſes of Chancellors, Officials, and Eccleſiaſtical courts [1].

After the Prince of ORANGE was come to *St. James's*, the diſſenting miniſters in a body attending him there, his Highneſs aſſured them, that

[1] Is fauſta omnia ſperare juſſit, adeo plebis enim animos injuſtitiâ & tyrannide exacerbaſſe Pontificios, ut omnes tumultu facto arreptiſque armis, illos ex Angliâ quam citiſſimè eliminaturi eſſent, Regemque ipſum (quod factum nolumus) aut exilio aut nece mulctaturi. Utcunque verò fieri nullo modo poſſe, ut Papiſmus in Angliâ ultra annum regnaret: miram rerum cataſtrophen adeſſe, cui ſi ipſe ſociique epiſcopi, præſenti Pontificiorum rabie erepti, ſuperfuerint, omni modo curaturos, ut eccleſia ſordibus & corruptelis penitus exueretur: ut ſectariis reformatis reditus in eccleſiæ ſinum exoptati occaſio ac ratio concederetur, ſi qui ſobrii & pii eſſent: ut pertinacibus interim jugum levaretur, extinctis penitus legibus mulctatoriis: utque cancellariorum, officialium, & curiarum eccleſiaſticarum abuſus funditus tolleretur,

that he would exert his utmoſt endeavours *for promoting a firm union among Proteſtants.* And upon his eſtabliſhment on the throne, when they preſented their addreſs to him and Queen MARY, Dr. BATES, in his ſpeech to the King upon that occaſion, obſerv'd to him: "We are encourag'd by your gracious promiſe upon our "firſt addreſs, humbly to deſire and hope, that "your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by your wiſdom and authority, to eſtabliſh *a firm union "of your Proteſtant ſubjects* in the matters of "religion, by making the rule of Chriſtianity "to be the rule of conformity. Our bleſſed "union in the purity and peace of the Goſpel "will make the church a fair and lovely type "of heaven, and terrible to our antichriſtian "enemies. This will make *England* the ſteady "centre, from whence a powerful influence will "be deriv'd for the ſupport of reformed Chriſtianity abroad. This will bring immortal "honour to your name above the triumphs of "the moſt renowned conquerors. We do aſſure "your Majeſty, that we ſhall cordially embrace "the terms of union, which the ruling wiſdom "of our Saviour has preſcrib'd in his word." And in his ſpeech to Queen MARY he ſaid, "We humbly deſire your Majeſty will be "pleaſed by your wiſdom and goodneſs to "compoſe the differences between your Proteſtant ſubjects in things of leſs moment concerning religion. We hope thoſe reverend "perſons, who conſpire with us in the main "end, the glory of God, and the public good, "will conſent to terms of union, wherein all "the reformed churches agree." The King in his anſwer aſſured them, that whatever was

in

in his power ſhould be employ'd for obtaining ſuch a union; and the Queen, that ſhe would uſe all endeavours for the obtaining a union, that is neceſſary for the edifying of the church. His Majeſty likewiſe in his ſpeech to the parliament on the 16th of *March* 168$\frac{8}{9}$ told them, that he hoped, that they would make room for the admiſſion of all Proteſtants, who were willing and able to ſerve; ſince this conjunction in his ſervice would tend to the better uniting them among themſelves, and the ſtrengthening them againſt their common adverſaries.

In conformity to this deſire of the King, firſt ſignified to his Privy-council, when the *act for the abrogating of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and appointing other oaths in their ſtead*, was read a ſecond time in the houſe of Lords, a ſelect committee of that houſe was order'd to draw up two clauſes; the one to *explain the abrogating the ſaid oaths*, the other *to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament, to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of truſt.* But this latter clauſe being reported to the houſe, was rejected by a great majority; the Lords DELAMERE, STAMFORD, NORTH AND GREY, CHESTERFIELD, WHARTON, LOVELACE, and VAUGHAN, entering their diſſent, and inſiſting, "that an hearty union "among Proteſtants was a greater ſecurity to "the church and ſtate, than any teſt that could "be invented: That this obligation to receive "the ſacrament was a teſt on the Proteſtants, "rather than on the Papiſts: That as long as "it continued, there could not be that hearty "and thorough union among Proteſtants, as "had always been wiſh'd, and was at this time

"indiſ-

" indiſpenſably neceſſary: And, laſtly, that a " greater caution ought not to be required from " ſuch, as were admitted into offices, than from " the members of two houſes of Parliament, " who were not obliged to receive the ſacra- " ment, to enable them to ſit in either houſe." This point being loſt, another attempt was made in favour of the moderate Diſſenters, by inſerting a clauſe in the ſaid bill, *To prevent the receiving the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper upon any other account, than in obedience to the holy inſtitution thereof*; and to provide, that any man ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for any office, employment, or place of truſt, who within a year before or after his admiſſion or entrance thereinto, did receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, either according to the uſage of the church of *England*, or in any other Proteſtant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the miniſter, or two other credible witneſſes, members of ſuch a Proteſtant congregation. But this was likewiſe rejected by a great majority, ſix Lords, OXFORD, LOVELACE, WHARTON, MORDAUNT, MONTAGU and PAGET, entering their diſſent.

But though theſe deſigns fail'd, the toleration act eaſily paſs'd both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the 24th of *May* 1689, under the title of an *Act for exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of* England, *from the penalties of certain laws.* It excuſed the Diſſenters from all penalties for their not coming to church, and for going to their ſeparate meetings. There was an exception to the *Socinians*; but a proviſion was inſerted in favour of the *Quakers*; and though the reſt

were required to take the oaths to the government, they were excuſed upon making in lieu thereof a ſolemn declaration. The Diſſenters were to take out warrants for the houſes, in which they met, and the Juſtices were required to grant them. It had been propoſed by ſome members of the Parliament, that this act ſhould only be temporary, as a neceſſary reſtraint upon the Diſſenters, that they might demean themſelves ſo, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offer'd ſhould end. But this was rejected, there being now ſo general a diſpoſition to paſs the act, as could not be expected at another time [m].

Another bill was likewiſe under the conſideration of the Parliament, *for uniting their Majeſties Proteſtant ſubjects*; to which ſome amendments being propoſed in the houſe of Lords, and the queſtion being put on the 4th of *April*, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clauſe about the *indifferency of the poſture at the receiving the ſacrament?* and the votes being equal, it was, according to the antient rule in the like caſe, carried in the negative. The next day the Lords reſum'd the debate of the report of the ſaid amendments, particularly of a clauſe concerning a *commiſſion to be given out by the King to ſome Biſhops and others of the Clergy*; and it was propos'd, that *ſome laymen ſhould be added in the commiſſion:* upon which the queſtion being put, the votes, including the proxies, were equal, and ſo it was again carried in the negative, four Lords, the Marquis of WINCHESTER, Lord MORDAUNT, Lord LOVELACE, and the Earl of STAMFORD entering their diſſent with the

[m] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 10.

the following reaſons. 1. Becauſe the act itſelf being, as the preamble ſets forth, deſign'd for the peace of the State, the putting the Clergy into commiſſion, with a total excluſion of the laity, lays this humiliation on the laity, as if the Clergy of the church of *England* were alone friends to the peace of the State; and the laity leſs able, or leſs concern'd to provide for it. 2. Becauſe the matters to be conſider'd being barely of human conſtitution, *viz.* the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of *England*, which had their eſtabliſhment from King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, there can be no reaſon, why the Commiſſioners for altering any thing in that civil conſtitution, ſhould conſiſt only of men of one ſort of them; unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that human reaſon is to be quitted in this affair, and the inſpiration of ſpiritual men to be alone depended upon. 3. Becauſe though upon *Romiſh* principles the Clergy may have a title to meddle alone in matters of religion, yet with us they cannot, where the church is acknowledged and defined to conſiſt of Clergy and laity; and ſo thoſe matters of religion, which fall under human determination, being properly the buſineſs of the church, belong to both; for in what is of divine inſtitution, neither Clergy nor laity can make any alteration at all. 4. Becauſe the pretending, that differences and delays may ariſe by mixing laymen with eccleſiaſtics, to the fruſtrating the deſign of the commiſſion, is vain and out of doors; unleſs thoſe, that make uſe of this pretence, ſuppoſe, that the Clergy-part of the church have diſtinct intereſts or deſigns from the lay-part of the ſame church; and this

will be a reaſon, if good, why one or other of them ſhould quit the houſe for fear of obſtructing the buſineſs of it. 5. Becauſe the commiſſion being intended for the ſatisfaction of Diſſenters, it would be convenient, that laymen of different ranks, nay perhaps of different opinions too, ſhould be mixed in it, the better to find expedients for that end, rather than Clergymen alone of our church, who are generally obſerv'd to have very much the ſame way of reaſoning and thinking. 6. Becauſe it is the moſt ready way to facilitate the paſſing the alterations into a law, that Lay-Lords and Commons ſhould be join'd in the commiſſion, who may be able to ſatisfy both the houſes of the reaſons, upon which they were made, and thereby remove all fears and jealouſies which ill men may raiſe againſt the Clergy, of their endeavouring to keep up, without grounds, a diſtinct intereſt from that of the laity, whom they ſo carefully exclude from being join'd with them in conſultations of common concernment, that they will not have thoſe have any part in the declaration, who muſt have the greateſt in the determining. 7. Becauſe ſuch a reſtrained commiſſion lies liable to this great objection, that it might be made uſe of to elude repeated promiſes, and the preſent general expectation of compliance with tender conſciences, when the providing for it is taken out of the ordinary courſe of Parliament, to be put into the hands of thoſe alone, who were lateſt in admitting any need of it, and who may be thought the more unfit to be the ſole compoſers of our differences, when they are looked upon by ſome as parties. Laſtly, becauſe, after all, this carries

a dangerous ſuppoſition with it, as if the laity were not a part of the church, nor had any power to meddle in matters of religion; a ſuppoſition directly oppoſite to the conſtitution both of church and ſtate, which will make all alterations utterly impoſſible, unleſs the Clergy alone be allow'd to have power to make laws in matters of religion, ſince what is eſtabliſh'd by law, cannot be taken away or changed but by conſent of laymen in Parliament, the Clergy themſelves having no authority to meddle in this very caſe, in which the laity are excluded by this vote, but what they derive from lay hands. Theſe reaſons were ſign'd by the Marquis of WINCHESTER, and the Lords MORDAUNT and LOVELACE; and the Earl of STAMFORD wrote under them, that he diſſented for the following, as well as other reaſons, becauſe it is contrary to the three ſtatutes made in the reign of HENRY VIII. and one in EDWARD VI. which empower thirty-two commiſſioners to alter the canon and eccleſiaſtical laws, *&c.* whereof ſixteen to be of the laity, and ſixteen of the Clergy.

Biſhop BURNET, who had been conſecrated to the See of *Saliſbury March* 31, 1689, upon the death of Dr. SETH WARD, argued warmly on the other ſide, imagining, that the clergy would have come into the deſign of the bill with zeal and unanimity, and being apprehenſive, that the propos'd amendment of the clauſe would be look'd on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands. But he was ſoon after convinc'd, that he had taken wrong meaſures, and that the method, propos'd by the Lords on the other ſide, was the only one like to be effectual. Nor did his oppoſition to it ſo recom-

recommend him to the clergy, as to balance the cenſure, which he fell under, for moving, in another proviſo in that bill, that the ſubſcription, inſtead of *aſſent* and *conſent*, ſhould be only to *ſubmit* with a promiſe of conformity; and for his zeal for the other clauſe above-mention'd, of diſpenſing with the poſture of kneeling at the ſacrament [n].

While this bill and that of toleration were depending, Mr. LOCKE, whoſe principles are well known to have been favourable to both, wrote a letter dated *March* 12, $168\frac{8}{9}$, [o] to his friend PHILIP A' LIMBORCH, an eminent writer and profeſſor of divinity among the *Arminians* in *Amſterdam*, in which he declares it as his opinion, that the epiſcopal clergy were no great friends to thoſe bills, and other matters then in agitation in *England*; "whether, *ſays he*, to "their own or the nation's advantage, let them "conſider."

The bill of *union* as well as that of toleration had been moved for by ſome of the Biſhops, who afterwards ſcrupled the oaths; and they both were drawn and offer'd by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been appointed one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate on the day of their Majeſties proclamation; and they were the ſame, which had been prepar'd for the Houſe of Commons in King CHARLES II's reign during the debates of the excluſion; but then conſidered rather as artifices to allay the heat of that time, and to render the church party more popular [p]. And even now thoſe, who had moved for

[n] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 10, 11.

[o] Familiar letters between Mr. LOCKE and ſeveral of his friends, *p.* 329, 330.

[p] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 6.

for the bill of *union*, and afterwards brought it into the houſe, acted a very diſingenuous part; for while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves by this ſhew of moderation, they ſet on their friends to oppoſe it; and ſuch, as were ſincerely and cordially for it, were repreſented as the enemies of the church, who intended to ſubvert it. When the bill had paſſed the Lords, and was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was ſuffer'd to lie upon the table [q]; and inſtead of proceeding in it, they reſolved upon an addreſs to the King, in which they were joined by the Lords, and which was preſented to his Majeſty on the 20th of *April*, deſiring him to continue his care for the preſervation of the church of *England* eſtabliſhed by law; and to iſſue forth writs, according to the ancient uſage and practice of the kingdom in time of parliament, for calling a Convocation of the clergy, to be adviſed with in eccleſiaſtical matters; aſſuring him, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the conſideration of giving eaſe to Proteſtant-diſſenters. The King returned no anſwer till the next day, when he declared, that the church of *England* ſhould always be his peculiar care; and he hop'd, that the eaſe, which they deſign'd to Diſſenters, would contribute very much to the eſtabliſhment of the church; and therefore earneſtly recommended to them, that the occaſions of differences and mutual animoſities might be removed; and that as ſoon, as conveniently might be, he would ſummon a Convocation.

The

[q] Ibid. *p.* 11.

The party, which was now beginning to be formed againſt the government, pretended great zeal for the church, and declar'd their apprehenſion, that it was in danger; which was imputed by many to the Earl of *Nottingham*'s management. Theſe, as they went heavily into the toleration, ſo they were much offended with the bill of union, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the repreſentative body of the clergy had not been ſo much as adviſed with. Nor was that bill ſupported by thoſe, who ſeemed moſt favourable to the Diſſenters. They proceeded upon a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a ſtrong faction in church and ſtate; and thought, that it was not agreeable to this, to ſuffer ſo great a body as the Preſbyterians to be more eaſy, or more inclinable to the church; and that the toleration would be beſt maintained, when great numbers ſhould need it, and be concern'd to preſerve it. This deſign therefore being zealouſly oppos'd, and but faintly promoted, prov'd abortive [r]. The temper and ſituation of the nation during the agitation of this affair, will appear from a converſation, related by Sir JOHN RERESBY [s], Governor of *York*, and afterwards a Nonjuror, who was preſent, between the Marquis of *Hallifax*, Lord-privy-ſeal, and the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who a few days after their Majeſties coronation, complain'd highly of the ſlow proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ſaying, that the *Dutch* would clap up a peace with *France*, if they did not mend their pace; and obſerv'd, that the church of *England* was in the fault, expreſſing himſelf,

[r] Ibid. *p.* 11.

[s] *See his* memoirs, *p.* 343, 344. *Edit.* 1735.

himſelf, as if he thought, that they meant a kindneſs to King JAMES by their method of procedure. The Lord-privy-ſeal agreed with him in his ſentiments, and added, that the church-people hated the *Dutch*, and had rather turn Papiſts than receive the Preſbyterians among them: But that on the other hand theſe were to the full as rank and inveterate againſt thoſe, and would mar all their buſineſs by their inadvertence with regard to their bill of comprehenſion, and their ill-timing of other bills: In ſhort, that they would diſguſt thoſe, from whom they looked for indulgence. Both his Lordſhip and the Biſhop were angry with the Commons addreſs to the King the day before, deſiring him to ſupport and defend the church of *England*, according to his former declaration, and to call a Convocation of the clergy, which the Biſhop ſaid would be the utter ruin of the comprehenſion ſcheme.

While the bill of *union* was depending in Parliament, Dean TILLOTSON, as we are informed by Dr. NICHOLS [t], perſuaded the King to purſue another method for accompliſhing the deſign of it. He reminded his Majeſty of the reproach often caſt upon the reformation by the Papiſts, that it was founded chiefly upon parliamentary authority; and that no handle ought for the future to be given for ſuch an objection. That the affairs of the church chiefly belonged to ſynodical authority; and if they were paſs'd by the members of the Convocation, they would not only be more acceptable to the body of the clergy, but would be more religiouſly obſerv'd by the laity. He added, that leſt affairs of this

[t] Apparatus ad defenſionem Eccleſ. *Anglicanæ*, p. 93.

nature, conſiſting of ſuch a multitude of particulars, might proceed too ſlowly in ſo numerous a body, it would be beſt, as had been formerly done, for his Majeſty to authorize by his letters-patents ſeveral of the moſt eminent of the clergy to conſider of ſome methods of healing the wounds of the church, and eſtabliſhing a durable peace; that ſo what they ſhould agree upon being laid before a Convocation, might firſt have their ſanction, and then that of parliamentary authority. In purſuance of this advice the King ſummon'd a Convocation, and iſſued out likewiſe on the 13th of *September* 1689, a commiſſion to ten Biſhops and twenty Divines to prepare matters to be conſider'd by the Convocation. It was in theſe terms:

" Whereas the particular forms of divine " worſhip, and the rites and ceremonies ap- " pointed to be uſed therein, being things in " their own nature indifferent and alterable, and " ſo acknowledg'd; it is but reaſonable, that " upon weighty and important conſiderations, " according to the various exigencies of times " and occaſions, ſuch changes and alterations " ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe, that are " in place and authority, ſhould from time to " time ſeem either neceſſary or expedient: And " whereas the book of canons is fit to be re- " view'd, and made more ſuitable to the ſtate " of the church; and whereas there are defects " and abuſes in the eccleſiaſtical courts and " juriſdictions, and particularly there is not ſuf- " ficient proviſion made for the removing of " ſcandalous miniſters, and for the reforming " of manners either in miniſters or people: " And whereas it is moſt fit, that there ſhould " be

" be a ſtrict method preſcrib'd for the exami-
" nation of ſuch perſons, as deſire to be admit-
" ted into holy orders, both as to their learning
" and manners:

" We therefore out of our pious and princely
" care for the good order, and edification, and
" unity of the church of *England*, committed
" to our charge and care, and for the recon-
" ciling as much as is poſſible of all differences
" among our good ſubjects, and to take away
" all occaſions of the like for the future, have
" thought fit to authorize and impower you,
" *&c.* and any nine of you, whereof three to be
" Biſhops, to meet from time to time, as often
" as ſhall be needful, and to prepare ſuch alte-
" rations of the liturgy and canons, and ſuch
" propoſals for the reformation of eccleſiaſtical
" courts, and to conſider ſuch other matters,
" as in your judgments may moſt conduce to
" the ends above-mentioned."

The Biſhops in this commiſſion were Dr. THOMAS LAMPLUGH, Archbiſhop of *York*; Dr. HENRY COMPTON, Biſhop of *London*; Dr. PETER MEW of *Wincheſter*; Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD of *St. Aſaph*; Dr. THOMAS SPRATT of *Rocheſter*; Dr. THOMAS SMITH of *Carliſle*; Dr. JONATHAN TRELAWNEY of *Exeter*; Dr. GILBERT BURNET of *Saliſbury*; Dr. HUMPHREY HUMPHREYS of *Bangor*; and Dr. NICOLAS STRATFORD of *Cheſter*. The twenty Divines were Dr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, Dean of *St. Paul's*, and ſoon after Biſhop of *Worceſter*; Dr. SIMON PATRICK, Dean of *Peterborough*, and ſoon after Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, Dean of *Canterbury*, and ſoon after of *St. Paul's*; Dr. RICHARD MEGGOT, Dean of *Winchester*; Dr. JOHN

SHARP, Dean of *Norwich*; Dr. RICHARD KIDDER, ſoon after made Dean of *Peterborough*; Dr. HENRY ALDRICH, Dean of *Chriſt Church*, *Oxford*; Dr. WILLIAM JANE, Regius-profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of *Oxford*; Dr. JOHN HALL, Margaret-profeſſor of divinity in the ſame univerſity; Dr. JOSEPH BEAUMONT, Regius-profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of *Cambridge*; Dr. JOHN MONTAGU, Maſter of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*; Dr. JOHN GOODMAN, Archdeacon of *Middleſex*; Dr. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, Archdeacon of *Colcheſter*; Dr. JOHN BATTELY, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; Dr. CHARLES ALSTON, Archdeacon of *Eſſex*; Dr. THOMAS TENISON, Archdeacon of *London*; Dr. JOHN SCOTT, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*; Dr. EDWARD FOWLER, Prebendary of *Gloceſter*; Dr. ROBERT GROVE, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*; and Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*.

About the time of paſſing this commiſſion, Dean TILLOTSON drew up the following paper, of which there is a copy enter'd in ſhort-hand into his common-place-book, intitled, "Conceſſions, which will probably be made by the "church of *England* for the union of Proteſtants; which I ſent to the Earl of *Portland* "by Dr. STILLINGFLEET *Sept.* 13, 1689.

"1. That the ceremonies injoin'd or recommended in the liturgy, or canons, be left "indifferent.

"2. That the liturgy be carefully reviewed, "and ſuch alterations and changes therein made, "as may ſupply the defects, and remove, as "much as is poſſible, all ground of exception "to any part of it, by leaving out the apocryphal leſſons, and correcting the tranſlation of

" the Pſalms, uſed in the public ſervice, where " there is need of it; and in many other " particulars.

" 3. That inſtead of all former declarations " and ſubſcriptions to be made by miniſters, it " ſhall be ſufficient for them, that are admitted " to the exerciſe of their miniſtry in the church " of *England*, to ſubſcribe one general declara- " tion and promiſe to this purpoſe, *viz.* that " we do ſubmit to the doctrine, diſcipline, and " worſhip of the church of *England*, as it ſhall " be eſtabliſhed by law, and promiſe to teach " and practiſe accordingly.

" 4. That a new body of eccleſiaſtical canons " be made, particularly with a regard to a more " effectual proviſion for the reformation of man- " ners both in miniſters and people.

" 5. That there be an effectual regulation of " eccleſiaſtical courts, to remedy the great abu- " ſes and inconveniencies, which by degrees, " and length of time, have crept into them; " and particularly, that the power of excom- " munication be taken out of the hands of lay " officers, and placed in the Biſhop, and not to " be exerciſed for trivial matters, but upon " great and weighty occaſions.

" 6. That for the future thoſe, who have " been ordained in any of the foreign reformed " churches, be not required to be re-ordained " here, to render them capable of preferment " in this church.

" 7. That for the future none be capable of " any eccleſiaſtical benefice or preferment in " the church of *England*, that ſhall be ordained " in *England*, otherwiſe than by Biſhops. And

" that thoſe, who have been ordained only by
" Preſbyters, ſhall not be compelled to renounce
" their former ordination. But becauſe many
" have, and do ſtill doubt of the validity of
" ſuch ordination, where epiſcopal ordination
" may be had, and is by law required, it ſhall
" be ſufficient for ſuch perſons to receive ordi-
" nation from a Biſhop in this or the like form:
" *If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee,*
" &c. as in caſe a doubt be made of any one's
" baptiſm, it is appointed by the liturgy, that
" he be baptiſed in this form, *If thou art not*
" *baptiſed, I baptiſe thee*, &c."

This laſt propoſal of the Dean with reſpect to an hypothetical ordination of thoſe, who were before ordain'd in *England* by Preſbyters, agreed with the ſentiments of one of the moſt learned and judicious Prelates of the beginning of that century, Dr. JOHN OVERAL, Biſhop of *Norwich*, with regard to the ordination of the miniſters of the foreign reformed church. This excellent Prelate, whoſe correſpondence by letters with GROTIUS is publiſh'd in that uſeful collection, intitled, *Præſtantium & eruditorum virorum epiſtolæ eccleſiaſticæ & theologicæ*, was at firſt Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, then Maſter of *Catharine-Hall*, and Regius profeſſor of Divinity in that univerſity, promoted in the beginning of the year 160½ to the Deanry of *St. Paul's* by Queen ELIZABETH, at the recommendation of Sir FULK GREVILL, afterwards Lord BROOK; and in *April* 1614 advanc'd to the Biſhopric of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, from which he was tranſlated in 1618 to that of *Norwich*, where he died the 12th of *May* the year following.

ing. I have now before me a long letter[u], containing many curious particulars relating both to ANTONIO DE DOMINIS Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, and this Biſhop, written by Mr. JOHN COSIN, afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, and Secretary to Biſhop OVERAL; of whom I ſhall mention one fact connected with the point above-mentioned, of which Mr. COSIN himſelf was witneſs. Dr. DE LAUNE, who tranſlated the *Engliſh* liturgy into *French*, being collated to a Living, and coming to the Biſhop, then at *Norwich*, with his preſentation, his Lordſhip aſk'd him, where he had his orders. He anſwer'd, that he was ordain'd by the Preſbytery at *Leyden*. The Biſhop upon this adviſ'd him to take the opinion of council, whether by the laws of *England* he was capable of a benefice without being ordain'd by a Biſhop. The Doctor replied, that he thought his Lordſhip would be unwilling to re-ordain him, if his council ſhould ſay, that he was not otherwiſe capable of the Living by law. The Biſhop rejoin'd, "*Re-ordination* we "muſt not admit, no more than a *re-baptiza-* "*tion:* But in caſe you find it doubtful, whe- "ther you be a Prieſt capable to receive a "benefice among us, or no, I will do the ſame "office for you, if you deſire it, that I ſhould "do for one, who doubts of his baptiſm, when "all things belonging eſſentially unto it have "not been duly obſerved in the adminiſtration "of it, according to the rule in the book of "Common-prayer, *If thou beeſt not already*, "&c. Yet for mine own part, if you will ad- "venture the orders that you have, I will admit "your

[u] Communicated to me by the honourable Sir THOMAS BURNET, Knt. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Common-pleas.

" your preſentation, and give you inſtitution " into the Living howſoever." But the title, which this preſentation had from the patron, proving not good, there were no farther proceedings in it; yet afterwards Dr. DE LAUNE was admitted into another benefice without any new ordination. Mr. COSIN adds another relation to the ſame purpoſe concerning Mr. WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, who tranſlated the 119th Pſalm into metre, the initial letters of his name being ſtill ſet before it. He had been ordained a miniſter at *Geneva*, in the reign of Queen MARY; and in that of Queen ELIZABETH having the Deanry of *Durham* conferr'd upon him [x], was queſtion'd by Dr. SANDYS Archbiſhop of *York*, as having no title or capacity for that dignity, becauſe he was not ordain'd a Prieſt by a Biſhop. The caſe was therefore diſputed and travers'd in divers courts; but Mr. WHITTINGHAM had judgment finally in his favour, it being declar'd, that ordination beyond the ſeas was equivalent to our ordination in *England:* And for the better confirmation of this a bill was preferr'd in Parliament, which paſs'd both houſes; and this ſtatute, which was either 13 *Eliz. chapt.* 8. or 8 *Eliz. chapt.* 13. enacted, that whoſoever alledg'd to have been ordain'd a miniſter beyond the ſeas, if he ſubſcrib'd to the 39 articles of religion, might be admitted to a benefice in the church of *England*. But I find the following remark, probably of Biſhop BURNET, upon this laſt ſtory in his Lordſhip's copy of the letter; that the ſtatute pointed at was 13 *Eliz. chapt.* 12. But in which there is in fact no indication, that the

[x] *July* 19th 1562, by the intereſt of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. The Dean died 10th of *June* 1579.

the ground of it was to juſtify Mr. WHITTINGHAM's ordination; but moſt probably the buſineſs was, that whereas the miniſters of the church of *England* had given ſecurity of themſelves at their ordination, which thoſe, who had been ordain'd in the reigns of King HENRY VIII. or Queen MARY, or in the *Lutheran* churches, had not; the latter might be obliged to do the like: And that the ſtatute had only ſome ſuch aim, is evident by the determination of its force upon ſo ſudden a date as the following *Chriſtmas*. "I have look'd, *ſays the remarker*, over ſuch "reports, as I could get, and can meet with no "ſuch thing as this WHITTINGHAM's *caſe*, and "therefore gueſs the ſtory to be no more than "tradition and hearſay. In the ſtory there is "this miſadventure, that the ſtatute 13 *Eliz.* "could not be referr'd to, for SANDYS was "not Archbiſhop of *York* until the 18 *Eliz.* "WHITTINGHAM might retain his Deanry by "virtue of his letters patents, tho' no prieſt; "nothing being frequenter than for Dignities "and Prebends to be held by them, who were "no prieſts, a long while after the 13 *Eliz.* "even in the time of King JAMES; and before "that ſtatute ſome benefices with cure had been "held, as I have heard. The ſtatute 5 *Edward* "*VI.* 1. for the ordaining of Prieſts and Deacons, as well as conſecrating of Biſhops, doth "impoſe the ſame penalties on ſuch, as uſe "other form of conſecrating, *&c.* as are inflicted on ſuch, as uſe any other form of common-prayer. Thoſe penalties are ſomewhat "altered and made greater by the ſtatute 1 *Eliz.* "*chapt.* 2. That ſtatute for conſecrating, *&c.* "5 *Edw. VI. chapt.* 1. is confirm'd in all parts,

"8 *Eliz.*

" 8 *Eliz. chapt.* 1. So then the penalties on " other form of conſecrating muſt be fetch'd " from 2 or 3 *Edw. VI. chapt.* 5. *Edw. VI.* " *chapt.* 1. and 1 *Eliz. chapt.* 2. together with " the confirmation of 8 *Eliz.* 1."

But to return to the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, they open'd their commiſſion at the *Jeruſalem-chamber* on the 10th of *October* 1689; but ſome named in it either did not appear, or ſoon deſerted their brethren. Among theſe were the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Rocheſter*, the latter of whom had ſat in an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion of a very illegal nature in the late reign; Dr. ALDRICH, and Dr. JANE. The laſt of theſe was ſon of JOSEPH JANE of *Leſkard* in *Cornwall*, Eſq; member for that borough in the long parliament, till his loyalty forc'd him to retire to *Oxford*, and afterwards abroad, where he wrote an anſwer to *Milton*'s Εἰκονοκλάστης under the title of Εἰκων ἄκλαστος, or the *Image unbroken*. Dr. JANE was educated at *Weſtminſter* ſchool, from whence he was elected in 1660 a Student of *Chriſt-church*, *Oxford*, of which he was afterwards Canon in 1678, and Dean of *Glouceſter*, in which dignity he was inſtall'd on the 6th of *June* 1685, and held with it the Præcentorſhip of the church of *Exeter*. He was the great promoter of, and had the chief hand in drawing up the famous *judgment and decree* of the univerſity of *Oxford*, paſs'd in the Convocation there on the 21ſt of *July* 1683, *againſt certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred perſons of Princes, their ſtate and government, and of all human ſociety*; which was preſented on the 24th of that month in *Latin* and *Engliſh* by Dr. ROBERT

HUNTINGDON, afterwards Biſhop of *Raphoe* in *Ireland*, to King CHARLES II. in the preſence of the Duke of YORK, and the principal perſons of the court, who all ſhew'd the higheſt ſatisfaction in it [y]; though this decree had afterwards the diſgrace of being burnt by the common executioner by order of the houſe of Lords in 1710. Notwithſtanding the principles avow'd in it, Dr. JANE was one of the four ſent by that univerſity to the Prince of ORANGE, then at *Hungerford*, in his march to *London*, to offer his Highneſs their plate, which the Prince refuſed; but the Doctor thought his own merit ſo great, that he took that opportunity of aſking for the Biſhopric of *Exeter*, void by the tranſlation of Biſhop LAMPLUGH to the Archbiſhopric of *York*. But not ſucceeding in his requeſt, that Biſhopric having been before promis'd to Dr. TRELAWNEY Biſhop of *Briſtol*, he was ſo far diſguſted, that he was ever after a ſecret enemy of King WILLIAM and his government, though he had appear'd himſelf ſo early in the revolution [z]. He lived ſome years after Queen ANNE's acceſſion to the throne without being advanc'd higher in the church, dying on the 6th of *February* 170$\frac{6}{7}$.

The reſt of the commiſſioners applied themſelves cloſely to the work aſſign'd them for ſeveral weeks. They had before them all the exceptions, which either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformiſts ſince the reſtoration, had made to any part of the church ſervice. They had likewiſe many propoſitions and advices, which had been offer'd at ſeveral times by many

[y] Vita ROB. HUNTINGDONI, Scriptore THO. SMITH, S. T. D. *p.* 26.

[z] Life of Dr. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, *p.* 55, 56.

many of our Biſhops and Divines, upon thoſe heads, of which Biſhop STILLINGFLEET had made a great collection. Matters were well conſider'd, and freely and calmly debated; and all was digeſted into an intire correction of every thing, that ſeem'd liable to any juſt objection [a]. They began with reviewing the liturgy; and firſt they examin'd the calendar, in which, in the room of *apocryphal* leſſons, they order'd certain chapters of *canonical* Scripture to be read, that were more for the people's edification. The *Athanaſian* creed being diſliked by many perſons on account of the *damnatory* clauſe, it was left to the miniſter's choice to uſe, or change it for the Apoſtles creed. New collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epiſtles and Goſpels for the whole courſe of the year, and with a force and beauty of expreſſion capable of affecting and raiſing the mind in the ſtrongeſt manner. The firſt draught of them was compoſed by Dr. PATRICK, who was eſteem'd to have a peculiar talent for compoſing prayers. Dr. BURNET added to them yet farther force and ſpirit. Dr. STILLINGFLEET then examin'd every word in them with the exacteſt judgment; and Dr. TILLOTSON gave them the laſt hand, by the free and maſterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence. Dr. KIDDER, who was well vers'd in the *Oriental* languages, made a new verſion of the Pſalms more conformable to the original. Dr. TENNISON having collected the words and expreſſions throughout the liturgy, which had been excepted againſt, propos'd others in their room, which were more clear and plain

[a] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own time, *vol. II. p.* 31. and triennial viſitation charge, ann. 1704.

plain, and leſs liable to objection Other things were likewiſe propos'd, which were left to be determin'd by the Convocation; as particularly, that the croſs in baptiſm might be either uſed or omitted at the choice of the parents; and that a Nonconformiſt miniſter going over to the church ſhould not be ordain'd according to the common form, but rather conditionally, in the ſame manner as infants are baptiſed, when there is no evidence of their being baptiſed before, with the addition of the epiſcopal benediction, as was cuſtomary in the antient church, when Clergymen were admitted, who had been ordain'd by heretics; of which manner of ordination Dr. BRAMHALL, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, had given a precedent, when he received ſome *Scots* Preſbyters into the church.

This abſtract of the proceedings of the commiſſioners is ſaid to have been communicated to Dr. NICHOLS [b] by Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who had drawn up an account of them: And the original of the alterations, ſuggeſted by theſe commiſſioners upon their review of the liturgy, was in the hands of Dr. TENNISON, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was always cautious of truſting them out of his own keeping, alledging, that if they came to be public, they would give no ſatisfaction to either ſide, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, as one ſide would upbraid their brethren for having given up ſo much; while the other would juſtify their non-conformity, becauſe thoſe conceſſions were too little, or however not yet paſs'd into a law [c]. But a more particular account

[b] Apparat. *p.* 95, 96.
[c] KENNET's Complete hiſtory, *vol. III. p.* 591. *Note* [d].

account of the proceedings of the commiſſioners, than that publiſh'd by NICHOLS, is inſerted here from Dr. CALAMY[d].

The committee being met in the *Jeruſalem* chamber, a diſpute aroſe about the authority and legality of the court, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tho' he had ſo lately acted in an illegal one, being one of thoſe, who queſtion'd it. The grounds of this ſcruple were the obligations the clergy lay under by act of Parliament of King HENRY VIII. not to enter into any debates about making any alterations in church affairs without the King's ſpecial and immediate privacy, and direction firſt given concerning ſuch alterations. It was anſwered, that that muſt be done either by an act of the King's own judgment, or by a private cabal (both which ways would be very exceptionable) or elſe by his Majeſty's commiſſion to a certain number of eccleſiaſtics to conſult about, and prepare what was neceſſary to be altered, as it was in the preſent caſe. For moreover the commiſſioners pretended not to make theſe alterations obligatory by virtue of a law, but only to get them ready to lay before the Convocation, the very reports being not ſo much as to be referred to the privy-council, leſt they might be ſubject to be canvaſs'd and cook'd by lay-hands. However the Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Rocheſter*, Dr. JANE and Dr. ALDRICH withdrew diſſatisfied; and the reſt, after a liſt of all, that ſeemed fit to be changed, was read over, proceeded very unanimouſly, and without any heats, in determining, as follows (each article, as ſoon as agreed on, being ſign'd by the Biſhop of *London*) viz.

That

[d] Abridgment of the Life of Mr. R. BAXTER, *p.* 452—455.

That the chanting of divine ſervice in cathedral churches ſhall be laid aſide, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people.

That beſides the Pſalms, being read in their courſe as before, ſome proper and devout ones be ſelected for Sundays.

That the apocryphal leſſons, and thoſe of the Old Teſtament, which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their ſtead by a new calendar; which is already fully ſettled, and out of which are omitted all the legendary ſaints days, and others not directly referred to in the ſervice book.

That not to ſend the vulgar to ſearch the canons, which few of them ever ſaw, a rubric be made, ſetting forth the uſefulneſs of the croſs in baptiſm, not as an eſſential part of that ſacrament, but only a fit and decent ceremony. However if any do, after all, in conſcience ſcruple it, it may be omitted by the prieſt.

That likewiſe if any refuſe to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper kneeling, it may be adminiſter'd to them in their pews.

That a rubric be made, declaring the intention of the *Lent* faſts to conſiſt only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in diſtinction of meats: And another to ſtate the meaning of *Rogation Sundays* and *Ember Weeks*; and appoint, that thoſe ordain'd within the *Quatuor Tempora*, do exerciſe ſtrict devotion.

That the rubric, which obliges Miniſters to read or hear *Common-prayer* publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent thoſe prayers.

That the *abſolution* in Morning and Evening prayer may be read by a Deacon, the word *Prieſt* in the rubric being changed into *Miniſter*, and thoſe words, *and remiſſion*, be put out as not very intelligible.

That the *Gloria Patri* ſhall not be repeated at the end of every Pſalm, but of all appointed for Morning and Evening prayer.

That thoſe words in the *Te Deum*, *thine honourable, true, and only Son*, be thus turn'd, *thine only begotten Son*, *honourable* being only a civil term, and no where us'd *in ſacris*.

The *Benedicite* ſhall be changed into the 128th Pſalm, and other Pſalms likewiſe appointed for the *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*.

The *Verſicles* after the Lord's prayer, *&c.* ſhall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniencies of ſo often varying poſtures in the worſhip. And after thoſe words, *Give peace in our time, O Lord*, ſhall follow an anſwer promiſory of ſomewhat on the people's part, of keeping God's law, or the like; the old reſponſe being grounded on the predeſtinating doctrine, taken in too ſtrict an acceptation.

All high titles or appellations of the King, Queen, *&c.* ſhall be left out of the prayers, ſuch as *moſt illuſtrious*, *religious*, *mighty*, &c. and only the word *Sovereign* return'd for the King and Queen.

Thoſe words in the prayer for the King, *Grant, that he may vanquiſh and overcome all his enemies*, as of too large an extent, if the King engage in an unjuſt war, ſhall be turn'd thus, *Proſper all his righteous undertakings againſt thy enemies*, or after ſome ſuch manner.

Thoſe

Thoſe words in the prayer for the clergy, *Who alone workeſt great marvels*, as ſubject to be ill interpreted by perſons vainly diſpoſed, ſhall be thus, *Who alone art the author of all good gifts:* And theſe words, *the healthful Spirit of thy grace*, ſhall be, *the holy Spirit of thy grace*, *heathful* being an obſolete word.

The prayer, which begins, *O God, whoſe nature and property*, ſhall be thrown out, as full of ſtrange and impertinent expreſſions, and beſides not in the original, but foiſted in ſince by another hand.

The *Collects*, for the moſt part, are to be changed for thoſe, which the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* has prepared, being a review of the old ones with enlargements, to render them more ſenſible and affecting, and what expreſſions are needleſs, to be retrenched.

If any Miniſter refuſe the Surplice, the Biſhop, if the people deſire it, and the Living will bear it, may ſubſtitute one in his place, that will officiate in it; but the whole thing is left to the diſcretion of the Biſhops.

If any deſire to have Godfathers and Godmothers omitted, and their children preſented in their own names to baptiſm, it may be granted.

About the *Athanaſian* creed, they came at laſt to this concluſion, that leſt the wholly rejecting it ſhould by unreaſonable perſons be imputed to them as Socinianiſm, a rubric ſhall be made, ſetting forth, or declaring the curſes denounced therein not to be reſtrained to every particular article, but intended againſt thoſe, that deny the ſubſtance of the Chriſtian religion in general.

Whether the amendment of the tranſlation of the *reading Pſalms* (as they are called) made by the Biſhop of *St. Aſaph* and Dr. KIDDER, or that in the bible, ſhall be inſerted in the prayer-book, is wholly left to the Convocation to conſider of and determine.

Several alterations were made in the *Litany*, *Communion Service*, &c.

Such were the proceedings of the commiſſioners, which had been proteſted againſt by their brethren, who had left them immediately after their firſt meeting, with a declaration, that they were againſt all alterations whatſoever. They thought, that too much had been already done for the Diſſenters, in the toleration, which was granted them; and would do nothing to make them ſtill eaſier. They ſaid farther, that the altering of the cuſtoms and conſtitutions of our church, to gratify a peeviſh and obſtinate party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more inſolent; as if the church, by offering theſe alterations, ſeemed to confeſs, that ſhe had been hitherto in the wrong. They were of opinion, that this attempt would divide the church, and make the people loſe their eſteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared, that it wanted correction. They excepted alſo to the manner of preparing matters, by a ſpecial commiſſion, as limiting the Convocation, and impoſing upon it; and to load this with a word of an ill ſound, they called this a new *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*. But in anſwer to all this it was ſaid, that if by a few corrections and explanations, all juſt ſatisfaction were offer'd to the chief objections of the Diſſenters, there was reaſon to hope,

that this would bring over many of them, at leaſt of the people, if not of the teachers among them: Or, if the prejudices of education wrought too ſtrongly upon the preſent age, yet if ſome more ſenſible objections were put out of the way, it might well be hop'd, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If theſe condeſcenſions were made ſo, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the Nonconformiſts had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the church: But ſuch offers being made only in regard to their weakneſs, the reproach fell on them; as the honour accrued to the church, who ſhewed herſelf a true mother by her care to preſerve her children. That it was not offer'd, that the ordinary poſture of receiving the ſacrament kneeling ſhould be changed; this being ſtill to be the received and favoured poſture, but that only ſuch, as declared, that they could not overcome their ſcruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another poſture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be ſo; and all the neceſſity of them aroſe only from the authority in church and ſtate, which had enacted them. It would therefore be an unreaſonable ſtiffneſs to deny any abatement or yielding, in ſuch matters, in order to the healing of the church's wounds. Great alterations had been made in ſuch things in all ages of the church. Even the church of *Rome* was ſtill making ſome alterations in her rituals. And changes had been made among ourſelves often ſince the reformation, in the reigns of King EDWARD, Queen ELIZABETH, King JAMES I, and King CHARLES II. Theſe were always made

upon ſome great turn, critical times being the moſt proper for deſigns of that kind. The toleration, now granted, ſeemed to render it more neceſſary than formerly to make the terms of communion with the church as large as might be, in order to draw over to it the greater number from thoſe, who might now leave it more ſafely; and therefore the more care was to be uſed for the gaining them. And with regard to the manner of preparing theſe overtures, the King's ſupremacy ſignified little, if he could not appoint a ſelect number to conſider of ſuch matters, as he might think fit to lay before the Convocation. This no way broke in upon their full freedom of debate, it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the propoſitions, that ſhould be offer'd to them [e].

But while this important affair was thus argued, the party, which was now at work for the abdicated King, took hold on this occaſion to inflame men's minds. It was pretended, that the church was to be demoliſhed, and Preſbytery ſet up: That all this now in debate was only intended to divide and diſtract the church, and to render it by that means both weaker and more ridiculous, while it departed from its former grounds, in offering ſuch conceſſions. The univerſities took fire upon this, and began to declare againſt it, and againſt all, who promoted it, as men, who intended to undermine the church. Severe reflections were likewiſe caſt on the King, as being in an intereſt contrary to the church; for the church was the word given out by the *Jacobite* party, under which they thought they might more ſafely ſhelter themſelves. Great can-

[e] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 32.

canvaſſings were every where in the election of members of the Convocation, a thing not known in former times; ſo that it was ſoon very viſible, that the temper of men was not cool or calm enough to encourage the farther proſecution of ſuch a deſign [f].

Thoſe, who were friends to it, deſign'd Dr. TILLOTSON, now Dean of *St. Paul's*, for Prolocutor of the lower houſe; and the court was ſollicitous for the choice of him, from a perſuaſion, that his ſingular moderation and prudence in that chair would be able to influence that houſe to concur in promoting thoſe ends, for which the Convocation was called. He was accordingly propoſed by Dr. SHARP [g], his ſucceſſor in the Deanry of *Canterbury*, upon the meeting of the Convocation on *Thurſday November* 21ſt 1689: But it was carried by a majority of two to one for Dr. JANE, the choice of whom is ſaid to have been owing, not only to the general temper of the clergy, but likewiſe to the intrigues of the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*, who, on account of their near relation to the Queen, whoſe mother was their ſiſter, expected, when the government was ſettled on King WILLIAM and her Majeſty, to have had ſome of the higher employments under it. But being diſappointed, they from reſentment endeavoured to perplex and embarraſs it, and among other ſchemes for that purpoſe, ſet themſelves to defeat whatever was intended to be done by the Convocation, and accordingly went to *Oxford*, where they found Dr. JANE prepared

[f] Ibid. *p.* 32, 33.

[g] Letter to me from the Rev[d]. Dr. THOMAS SHARP, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, dated at *Durham*, *November* 7, 1751.

for their views, by his own diſappointment and ambition, as well as by his principles; whom having engaged to ſtand in competition againſt the Dean of *St. Paul's*, they ſupported him in it by all their intereſt [h].

But beſides theſe, there was another more ſecret cauſe of the oppoſition to the Dean of *St. Paul's*, and of the clamour rais'd, on his account, both before and in the Convocation, which will appear from a letter of his to be produced hereafter. This took its riſe from the Biſhop of *London*'s jealouſy of the Dean's being intended by the King for the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury*, which himſelf had once before been diſappointed of, when Dr. SANCROFT was promoted to it, and which he now ſeemed to claim as due to his conduct before, and eſpecially at the revolution, as well as to his rank and family, being the ſixth and youngeſt ſon of SPENCER Earl of *Northampton*, who fell in an engagement at *Hopton Heath* in *Staffordſhire March* 19, 164½, fighting with three of his ſons for the royal cauſe. He was at firſt enter'd at *Queen's College* in *Oxford* about 1649, and after about three years ſtay there travelled into *France*, *Italy*, and other countries, and upon his return was after the reſtoration made a Cornet in the royal regiment of Horſe-guards, under the command of AUBREY VERE, Earl of *Oxford*. Afterwards entering into holy orders, when he was above thirty years of age, he was in 1667 made Maſter of the hoſpital of *St. Croſs* near *Wincheſter*, in *May* 1669 Canon of *Chriſt Church*, and in *October* 1674 Biſhop of *Oxford*, and in *December* of the year following, upon

[h] Life of Dr. PRIDEAUX, Dean of *Norwich*, *p.* 54, 55, 56.

upon the death of Dr. HUMPHRY HENCHMAN, tranſlated to the See of *London*, in which he died on the 7th of *July* 1711, in the 81ſt year of his age. He was an humble, modeſt, generous, and good natur'd man, but weak, wilful, much in the power of others, and ſtrangely wedded to a party [i]. He applied himſelf more to his function than Biſhops had commonly done, and went about his dioceſe, and preach'd and confirm'd in many places; but his preaching was without much vivacity or learning, as he had not paſs'd thro' his ſtudies with the exactneſs, that was proper. He was a great patron of the converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants, who had been oblig'd to leave *France* for their religion. His chief attachment during the reign of King CHARLES II. had been to the Lord-treaſurer DANBY; but he was hated by the Duke of *York*, whom he greatly offended by his frequent complaints to the King of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and eſpecially of Mr. COLEMAN the Duke's Secretary [k]. He was one of thoſe eminent perſons in the following reign, who met at the Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s houſe, for concerting proper advices for the Prince of *Orange*'s conduct, and drawing up the declaration, on which they adviſed his Highneſs to engage [l]; and he joined in the invitation of that Prince by the perſuaſion of the Earl of *Danby* [m]. His oppoſition to the court after the revolution, in concurrence with the Tory party, began, after he had been ſet aſide in the diſpoſal of the Archbiſhopric to Dr. TILLOTSON, and it was ſtill heighten'd upon the promotion of Dr. TENNISON

i BURNET, *vol. I. p.* 392. and *vol. II. p.* 630.
k *Vol. I. p.* 392.
l BURNET, *vol. I. p.* 712. m Ibid. *p.* 794.

ſon to that See; and in the reign of Queen ANNE he always ſupported thoſe meaſures, which were moſt agreeable to her Majeſty's own inclination and principles.

His Lordſhip's expectation of ſucceeding Archbiſhop SANCROFT upon the deprivation of the latter, and his *open falling out*, as Mr. WHARTON expreſſes it [n], with the Dean of St. *Paul*'s, are mentioned by that writer, who adds, that the Dean labour'd to exclude his Lordſhip from the Archbiſhopric, and earneſtly preſſed the King to give it to Biſhop STILLINGFLEET. But for theſe two laſt facts I have not met with any other authority.

But to reſume the hiſtory of the Convocation, the new Prolocutor being preſented on the 25th of *November* to the Biſhop of *London*, Preſident of the Convocation, whoſe Chaplain he had been, for his Lordſhip's approbation, made, according to cuſtom, a ſpeech in *Latin*, in which he extoll'd the excellency of the church of *England*, as eſtabliſh'd by law, above all Chriſtian communities, intimating, that it wanted no amendment, and concluding with the application of this ſentence by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* The Biſhop in his anſwer in the ſame language told the Clergy, that "they ought to endeavour a temper in thoſe "things, that are not eſſential in religion, there-"by to open the door of ſalvation to a multi-"tude of ſtraying Chriſtians: That it muſt "needs be their duty to ſhew the ſame indul-"gence and charity to the Diſſenters under King "WILLIAM, which ſome of the Biſhops and "Clergy had promiſed to them in their ad-"dreſſes to King JAMES." At

[n] MS Collections above-cited.

At the next meeting the Biſhop acquainted the Convocation, that having communicated the royal commiſſion, by which they were impower'd to act, to an eminent Civilian, he had found it defective in not having the Great Seal; for which reaſon he ſhould prorogue them till that was procur'd. And on the fourth of *December* that commiſſion, dated *November* 30, was brought, while both houſes were together in HENRY VII's chapel, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, with a meſſage from the King, repreſenting, that his Majeſty had ſummon'd this Convocation, not only becauſe it was uſual, upon holding a Parliament, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the beſt eſtabliſhment of the church of *England*, which is ſo eminent a part of the reformation, and is certainly the beſt ſuited to the conſtitution of this government, and therefore moſt ſignally deſerv'd, and ſhould always have both his favour and protection: And that he doubted not, but that they would aſſiſt him in promoting the welfare of it, ſo that no prejudices, which ſome men might have labour'd to poſſeſs them with, ſhould diſappoint his good intentions, or deprive the church of any benefit from their conſultations. That he therefore expected, that the things, that ſhould be propos'd, ſhould be calmly and impartially conſidered by them: And he aſſured them, that he would offer nothing to them, but what ſhould be for the honour, peace, and advantage both of the Proteſtant religion in general, and particularly of the church of *England*.

The Biſhops agreed upon an addreſs to his Majeſty to thank him "for the grace and good-
"neſs expreſs'd in his meſſage, and the zeal
"ſhewn

" ſhewn in it for the Proteſtant religion in ge-
" neral, and the church of *England* in particu-
" lar, and of the truſt and confidence repos'd
" in the Convocation by the commiſſion; which
" marks of his Majeſty's care and favour they
" look'd upon as the continuance of the great
" deliverance, which almighty GOD had wrought
" for them by his means, by making him the
" bleſſed inſtrument of preſerving them from
" falling under the cruelty of Popiſh tyranny.
" For which as they had often thank'd almighty
" GOD, ſo they could not forget that high ob-
" ligation and duty, which they owed to his
" Majeſty; and on theſe new aſſurances of his
" protection and favour to the church, they
" begged leave to renew the aſſurance of their
" conſtant fidelity and obedience to his Majeſty,
" whom they pray'd GOD to continue long and
" happily to reign over them."

The lower houſe of Convocation, who were determined to enter into no debates with relation to alterations, would not conſent to this addreſs; but firſt pleaded for the privilege of preſenting a ſeparate one of their own drawing up; and then waving that pretenſion, applied themſelves to making amendments in the draughts ſent them by the Biſhops [o], in which his Majeſty's *zeal for the Proteſtant religion in general, and the church of* England *in particular*, was acknowledged, the lower houſe thinking, that this imported their owning ſome common union with the foreign Proteſtants [p]. The reaſon, which they aſſigned for refuſing their concurrence with the Biſhops in their form, was, that " they were
" deſirous

[o] KENNET, *vol. III. p.* 593. [p] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 33.

" deſirous to confine their addreſs to his Ma-
" jeſty's moſt gracious meſſage, and to thoſe
" things only therein, which concern'd the
" church of *England*." This occaſioned a conference between the two houſes, which was chiefly managed between the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* and the Prolocutor; and theſe reaſons were reported, why the Biſhops inſiſted on the expreſs mention of the Proteſtant religion: 1. Becauſe it is the known denomination of the common doctrine of the weſtern part of Chriſtendom, in oppoſition to the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. 2. Becauſe the leaving out this may have ill conſequences, and be liable to ſtrange conſtructions, both at home and abroad, among Proteſtants as well as Papiſts. 3. Becauſe it agrees with the general reaſon offered by the Clergy for their amendments, ſince this was expreſsly mentioned in the King's meſſage; and in this the church of *England* being ſo much concerned, their Lordſhips thought it ought to ſtand ſtill in the addreſs. The lower houſe, after debating theſe reaſons, refuſed to conſent to them, but agreed to thank his Majeſty *for his pious zeal and care for the honour, peace, advantage and eſtabliſhment of the church of* England; and then to add, *whereby we doubt not the intereſt of all the Proteſtant churches, which is dear to us, will under the influence of your Majeſty's government be the better ſecured*. The upper houſe deſiring them to give their reaſon, why inſtead of the *Proteſtant religion* they inſerted *Proteſtant churches*, it was given in theſe words, " We being the re-
" preſentative of a form'd eſtabliſh'd church, do
" not think fit to mention the word *religion*, any
" farther than it is the religion of ſome form'd
" eſtabliſh'd

" eſtabliſh'd church." Their Lordſhips returned the amendment with this alteration, " We doubt " not, the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion in " this and all other Proteſtant churches, *&c.*" The lower houſe ſtill jealous, that it would be a diminution of the church of *England* to join it with foreign Proteſtant churches, would have the words [*this and*] omitted; and at laſt, with great difficulty, an addreſs was agreed, and preſented to the King in the *Banqueting-houſe* at *Whitehall* on *Thurſday* the 12th of *December*; wherein they returned their moſt humble acknowledgments for his Majeſty's meſſage, and the pious zeal and care, which he was pleaſed to expreſs therein for the honour, peace, advantage, and eſtabliſhment of the church of *England*; whereby, they doubted not, the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion in all other Proteſtant churches, which was dear to them, would be the better ſecured under the influence of his Majeſty's government and protection: And they crav'd leave to aſſure him, that in purſuance of that truſt and confidence, which he repoſed in them, they would conſider whatſoever ſhould be offered to them from his Majeſty, without prejudice, and with all calmneſs and impartiality; and that they would conſtantly pay the fidelity and allegiance, which they had all ſworn to him and the Queen, whom they pray'd GOD to continue long and happily to reign over them. The King well underſtood, why this addreſs omitted the thanks, which the Biſhops had recommended, for his royal commiſſion, and the zeal, which he had ſhewn for the Proteſtant religion; and why there was no expreſſion of tenderneſs to the Diſſenters, and but a cool regard to the Proteſtant churches.

However, his Majeſty returned this gracious anſwer, that he "took this addreſs very kindly "from the Convocation; and that they might "depend upon it, that he would do all he had "promiſed, and all he could do, for the ſer-"vice of the church of *England*; and gave them "this new aſſurance, that he would improve all "occaſions and opportunities for its ſervice."

The majority of the lower houſe had a reſerved kindneſs for the nonjuring Biſhops and Clergy; and therefore one of the members made a zealous ſpeech in behalf of the Biſhops under ſuſpenſion, that "ſomething might be done to "qualify them to ſit in Convocation, yet ſo as "that the Convocation might not incur any dan-"ger thereby." But this matter being of too delicate a nature was left to farther conſideration, while they labour'd to find out ſome other buſineſs to divert them from that, for which they were called together. And therefore on the 11th of *December* the Prolocutor attended the Preſident and Biſhops, and in the name of the lower houſe repreſented to their Lordſhips, "that there were "ſeveral books of very dangerous conſequence "to the Chriſtian religion, and the church of "*England*; particularly, *Notes upon* ATHANA-"SIUS's *creed*, and *two letters* relating to the "preſent Convocation, newly come abroad;" and deſired their Lordſhip's advice, "in what "way, and how far ſafely, without incurring "the penalty of the ſtatute of 25 *Hen. VIII.* "the Convocation might proceed in the pre-"venting the publiſhing the like ſcandalous "books for the future, and inflicting the cen-"ſures of the church, according to the Canons "provided in that behalf, upon the authors of them."

" them." Upon which the Prolocutor on the 13th of that month acquainted the houſe, that " the Preſident had declared his ſenſe of the ill " conſequence of thoſe books, that were ſent " up from that houſe to their Lordſhips; and " that, upon inquiry, he could not receive any " ſatisfaction, how far the Convocation might " proceed in that affair; but that he would, " as far as lay in him, take further order about " it." The ſame day the Biſhops having propos'd to appoint a committee of both houſes to ſit during the receſs, the lower houſe after ſome debate reſolv'd in the negative: after which the Convocation was prorogued to the 24th of *January* following, then prorogued again, and at laſt diſſolved with the Parliament[q]. For as there was at that time but a ſmall number of Biſhops in the upper houſe, and they had not their Metropolitan with them, nor ſtrength and authority to ſet things forwards, they adviſed the King to ſuffer the ſeſſion to be diſcontinued: And thus ſeeing they were in no diſpoſition to enter upon buſineſs, they were kept from doing miſchief by prorogations for a courſe of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them, for ever ſince the year 1662 the Convocation had indeed continued to ſit, but to do no buſineſs; ſo that they were kept at no ſmall charge in town, to do nothing but only to meet and read a *Latin* liturgy; and conſequently it was an eaſe to be freed from ſuch an attendance to no purpoſe. But the ill reception, which the Clergy gave the King's meſſage, raiſed a great clamour againſt them, ſince all the promiſes

[q] Hiſtorical account of the whole proceedings of the Convocation, *printed at the end of* Vox Cleri, *London* 1690, 4*to*. and KENNET, *p.* 594, 595.

miſes made in King JAMES II's time were now ſo intirely forgot [r].

However, there is obſerv'd by Biſhop BURNET [s] a very happy direction of the providence of GOD in this matter. The *Jacobite* Clergy, who were then under ſuſpenſion, were deſigning to make a ſchiſm in the church, whenever they ſhould be turned out, and their places ſhould be filled up by others. They ſaw, that it would not be eaſy to make a ſeparation upon a private and perſonal account, and therefore wiſh'd to be furniſh'd with more ſpecious pretences. If therefore any alterations had been made in the rubric and other parts of the common-prayer, they would have pretended, that they ſtill ſtuck to the antient church of *England*, in oppoſition to thoſe, who were altering it, and ſetting up new models. But tho' they hop'd and wiſh'd, that thoſe alterations might be made, which they reckon'd would have been of great advantage for ſerving their ends; yet they were at the ſame time the inſtruments of raiſing ſuch a clamour againſt them, as prevented their being made; which, if they had been carried by a majority in the Convocation, would, by the beſt judgment, that could be afterwards form'd, have on that account done more hurt than good.

Such important points, as were the ſubject of the commiſſion, and intended for the conſideration of the Convocation, occaſioned the publication of ſeveral pamphlets in favour of, as well as againſt, the intended comprehenſion. Among the former was a *Diſcourſe concerning that commiſſion*,

[r] BURNET, *vol. II. p.* 33. [s] Ibid. and *p.* 34.

ſion, proving it *to be agreeable* to *the law of the land, uſeful to the Convocation, tending to the well-being of the church, and ſeaſonable at this juncture*, written by Dr. THOMAS TENNISON, and printed at *London* 1689 in 4to. and *A letter to a friend relating to the preſent Convocation*, dated *November* 27, 1689, and ſometimes aſcrib'd to Dr. TILLOTSON, tho' the real author of it was Dr. HUMPHRY PRIDEAUX[t]. On the other ſide was publiſh'd *Vox Cleri: or the ſenſe of the Clergy concerning the making of alterations in the eſtabliſh'd liturgy; with ſome remarks on* the diſcourſe concerning the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, *and ſeveral* letters *for alterations*, London 1690 in 4to. This was imputed to Mr. THOMAS LONG, Prebendary of *Exeter*; and was oppoſed by *An anſwer to* Vox Cleri, &c. *examining the reaſons againſt making any alterations and abatements in order to a comprehenſion, and ſhewing the expediency thereof*; ſaid to be written by Dr. WILLIAM PAYNE, and printed at *London* 1690 in 4to. *Vox Populi*; *or the ſenſe of the ſober laymen of the church of* England, *concerning heads propoſed in his Majeſty's commiſſion to the Convocation*; printed in the ſame year, and in the ſame form: *Vox Regis & Regni*; *or a proteſt againſt* Vox Cleri, *and a perſuaſive (thereby occaſioned) to make ſuch alterations, as may give eaſe to our diſſenting brethren*, London 1690 in 4to. and *two letters*, and a *vindication* of them, *concerning alterations in the liturgy*, by Mr. BASSET, *London* 1689 in 4to. The *anſwer to* Vox Cleri was replied to in a *juſt cenſure* of it; and Dr. HENRY MAURICE, Chaplain to Archbiſhop SANCROFT, publiſh'd *Remarks from the country upon the* two letters *relating*

[t] See his Life, *p.* 58.

ing to the convocation, and alterations. The *letter to a friend concerning ſome queries about the new commiſſion for making alterations in the liturgy, canons, &c. of the Engliſh*, publiſh'd in *October* 1689, is ſuppoſed to be the perſormance of Dr. JANE himſelf [u]: And this ſuppoſition is the more probable, as the author, after declaring againſt any alterations, ſeems to point his reflections directly againſt Dr. TILLOTSON in theſe queries: "Whether the *known character* of *ſome* "*leading men* in this commiſſion be not reaſon "enough to ſuſpect the event? Whether men, "who conform'd with difficulty themſelves, or "upon principles, which wiſe men foreſaw "would deſtroy the church in time, who have "latitude to conform to a church *de facto*, "which hath power on its ſide, and to conceal "their own inclinations till it is time to ſhew "them, are not likely to do the church of *Eng-*"*land* a good turn, when opportunity ſerves, "and which perhaps they imagine now they "have?" Dr. SOUTH has likewiſe, in ſeveral paſſages of his works, ſpoke with his uſual ſeverity of the ſcheme. He begins the *preface* to his *animadverſions upon* Dr. SHERLOCK's vindication of the holy and ever-bleſſed Trinity, printed in 1693 in 4to. with remarking, that "to be impugned from without, and betrayed "from within, is certainly the worſt condition, "that either church or ſtate can fall into; and "the beſt of churches, the church of *England*, "has had experience of both. It had been to "be wiſhed, and (one would think) might "very reaſonably have been expected, that when "Providence had took the work of deſtroying

[u] See WOOD. Ath. Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 1049.

" the church of *England* out of the Papiſts " hands, ſome would have been contented with " her preferments, without either *attempting to* " *give up her rites and liturgy*, or deſerting her " doctrine. But it has prov'd otherwiſe." He is ſtill more full and explicit upon this topic in his dedication of the ſecond volume of his ſermons to the univerſity of *Oxford*, dated *November* 17th 1693, in which he obſerves, that the chief deſign of ſome of them is to aſſert the rights and conſtitutions of our excellently reformed church, " which of late, *ſays he*, we " ſo often hear reproached (in the modiſh dia- " lect of the preſent times) by the name of *little* " *things*; and that, in order to their being laid " aſide, not only as *little*, but *ſuperfluous*. But " for my own part, I can account nothing *lit-* " *tle* in any church, which has the ſtamp of un- " doubted authority, and the practice of primi- " tive antiquity, as well as the reaſon and de- " cency of the thing itſelf, to warrant and ſup- " port it. Tho' if the ſuppoſed *littleneſs* of theſe " matters ſhould be a ſufficient reaſon for the " laying them aſide, I fear, our church will be " found to have *more little men* to ſpare than *lit-* " *tle things*." He then declaims againſt the *in-* *novating ſpirit*, which had been *ſtriking at the conſtitutions of our church*, affirming, that " in- " novations about religion are certainly the moſt " efficacious, as well as the moſt plauſible way " of compaſſing a total abolition of it."

On the other ſide it was remarkable, that Biſhop PARTICK ſhould have ſo great a ſhare in the deſign of the comprehenſion, who in the *General preface*, dated *November* 1ſt, 1683, before the ſixth edition of his *Friendly debate be-*

tween a Conformiſt and a Nonconformiſt, had declared himſelf irreconcilable to ſuch a deſign. This he took occaſion to remark in anſwer to the cenſure paſs'd upon that book by the Lord Chief-Juſtice HALE [w], whom he owned to be as eminent for candour as learning and piety. His Lordſhip had expreſſed a great diſlike of the *Friendly debate* [x], and Dr. PARKER's *Eccleſiaſtical policy* [y], *as tending to the injury of religion itſelf; that he wiſhed the authors would openly profeſs, that they wrote for themſelves, and no more abuſively pretend it was for religion.* Dr. PATRICK acknowledges in his *General preface*, that "he was not then, nor is now for that project "of *comprehenſion*, with which every body knows "Sir MATTHEW HALE was ſtrongly poſſeſſed. "The *Debate* came in the way of that, and lay "croſs to it. But as for his charge of the au-"thor's *writing for himſelf*, I can demonſtrate, "that as things then ſtood, it was impoſſible "(unleſs we will ſuppoſe him to be a fool) he "ſhould have any ſuch reſpect to ſecular ad-"vantages, which he might thereby reap, ſave "only the preſerving himſelf by preſerving the "government, which he was bound to do as a "member of this church and kingdom, which "he loves unfeignedly, and whoſe preſent con-"ſtitution he will always endeavour ſtedfaſtly "to uphold. For they, whom he oppoſed, "had too much power, he knew very well, at "that time to obſtruct him in ſuch a deſign; "and as they uſed all their intereſt to depreſs

[w] See Mr. BAXTER's ſecond defence of Nonconformity, p. 188. *London* 1681. [x] The firſt and ſecond parts of it were publiſh'd in 1668; and the third in 1670.

[y] Printed at *London* 1669 in 8vo.

" him, ſo they had ſuch an influence, I can " prove, upon ſome, who are now dead and " gone, that by their means they did actually " keep him down, a long time, from riſing at " all in the world." This whole preface has indeed ſtrong marks of chagrin; and the time of writing it is the more remarkable, being ſoon after the diſcovery of the *Rye-houſe* plot, which he ſtiles *a late treaſonable conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty's ſacred perſon and government.* Nor is it improbable, that his attachment to the court, and connexions with Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, occaſion'd in ſome meaſure that reſentment which he expreſs'd againſt the Dean of *Canterbury*, on account of his ſermon on *Joſhua* xxiv. 15. in his letters to that ambitious and proſtitute Divine, cited above from Dr. HICKES. But he afterwards became more moderate; and his zeal and labours to obviate the progreſs of Popery during the reign of King JAMES II. concurred with his extenſive learning and piety, to recommend him to the Biſhopric of *Chicheſter*, whence he was tranſlated to that of *Ely* in 1691, where he died on the 31ſt of *May* 1707, in his 81ſt year, being born at *Gainſborough* in *Lincolnſhire* on the 8th of *September* 1626. His education had been in the univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow of *Queen's College*, and ordain'd by Dr. JOSEPH HALL, the deprived Biſhop of *Norwich*. He was at firſt Vicar of *Batterſea*, and in *September* 1662 Rector of *St. Paul's Covent-garden*, and in *Auguſt* 1679 advanced to the Deanry of *Peterborough*, upon the deceaſe of Dr. DUPORT, whoſe Greek and Latin poems were in the laſt age much admir'd, tho' now little read, the former being a cento from HOMER, and the latter

wanting a true claſſical purity, and abounding in unnatural conceits, and a mere play of words.

Dr. TILLOTSON had been in ſtrict attendance at court in his office of Clerk of the cloſet for ten weeks till towards the beginning of *September* 1689, when he obtained leave to retire for ſome days to his houſe at *Edmonton*, whence he wrote on the 10th of that month to Lady RUSSEL, giving her an account of the King's having given the Biſhopric of *Chicheſter* to Dr. PATRICK, and the Deanry of *Peterborough* to Dr. KIDDER. The Rectory of *St. Paul's Coventgarden* alſo falling to his Majeſty's diſpoſal by the promotion of the new Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dean TILLOTSON informed her Ladyſhip, that he believed, that the King would not diſpoſe of that living but to one, whom the Earl of *Bedford*, the patron of it, ſhould approve; and therefore aſked her, whether his Lordſhip and ſhe would be willing, that the Earl of *Nottingham* ſhould mention to his Majeſty on that occaſion Dr. JOHN MORE. This Divine was, after his advancement to the epiſcopal dignity, one of the moſt eminent patrons of learning and learned men in his time; and his name will be carried down to poſterity, not only by his ſermons publiſhed by Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE, his Chaplain, but by the curious and magnificent library collected by him, and purchaſed after his death for 6000 guineas by his late Majeſty, who preſented it to the univerſity of *Cambridge*. He was born at *Harborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and educated at *Clare-hall* in that univerſity, where he took the degree of Bachelor of arts in 1665, of Maſter in 1669, of Doctor of divinity in 1681. He was Fellow of that college, and Chaplain to the

Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, and quitting the Rectory of *Blaby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, was collated to that of *St. Auſtin* in *London* in *December* 1687, and in *October* 1689 was removed to that of *St. Andrew's*, which he held till *July* 1691, when he was conſecrated Biſhop of *Norwich* in the room of Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, deprived for not taking the oaths, and in *July* 1707 tranſlated to the See of *Ely*, upon the Death of Dr. PATRICK. He died on the 31ſt of *July* 1714, at the age of ſixty-eight.

In the ſame letter the Dean takes notice of his having ſpoken to the King the *Sunday* before concerning Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON; and that his Majeſty ſeemed well inclined to what he had moved for that Divine, but *did not poſitively determine to take that courſe.* This refers to ſome requeſt, which Lady RUSSEL had deſired the Dean to make to his Majeſty in favour of Mr. JOHNSON, for whom ſhe had great zeal, out of regard both to the memory of her huſband, whoſe Chaplain he had been, and to the merit of his writings and ſufferings. This remarkable man was born in *Staffordſhire* in 1649, educated firſt at *St. Paul's ſchool* [z], thence removed to *Trinity-college* in *Cambridge* [a], and on the 1ſt of *March* $16\frac{69}{70}$, preſented by Mr. ROBERT BIDOLPH to the Rectory of *Coringham* in the hundreds of *Eſſex* [b], worth 80 *l.* a year; the only church preferment, which he ever enjoyed. But the air of that place not agreeing with his health, he was obliged to put in a Curate to ſupply the living, and came to *London*, where his knowledge of politics, and the conſtitution

[z] Some memorials *prefix'd* to his works.
[a] KNIGHT's Life of Dean COLET, *p.* 411.
[b] NEWCOURT's Repertorium, *vol. II. p.* 194.

ſtitution and hiſtory of his country, recommended him to the acquaintance of the principal perſons engaged in an oppoſition to the meaſures and deſigns of the court, and particularly the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord RUSSEL, the latter of whom appointed him his domeſtic Chaplain. His *Julian the Apoſtate*, publiſhed in 1682, was intended to expoſe the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, which were carried at that time to an extravagant height by writers even of his own order, and to ſhew the great difference betwixt the caſe of the primitive Chriſtians, who had the laws againſt them, and ours, who have the laws on our ſide. This provoked the court to ſuch a degree, that he was proſecuted for it as *a very ſcandalous and ſeditious libel*, and ſentenced in the King's Bench on the 11th of *February* 168$\frac{3}{4}$ to pay five hundred marks for a fine to the King; to find ſureties for his good behaviour for a year; and to be committed to the priſon of the King's Bench till this be paid and done; and that his book be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Being incapable to diſcharge his fine, he continued in priſon in extremely neceſſitous circumſtances; and there drew upon himſelf a new perſecution in the reign of King JAMES II, by writing and printing in 1686, *An humble and hearty addreſs to all the* Engliſh *Proteſtants in the preſent army*. The ſentence, which he received, was a very ſevere one, to ſtand in the pillory in *Weſtminſter*, *Charing-croſs*, and the *Royal Exchange*; to pay a fine of five hundred marks; and to be whip'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. Previouſly to his ſuffering, he was degraded in the *Chapter-houſe* of *St. Paul's*, on the 22d of *November* 1686, by Dr. CREW, Biſhop

Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. SPRAT, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. WHITE, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and ſeveral Divines of the city; Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Dean of *St. Paul's*, refuſing to attend on that occaſion. He bore the whipping on the firſt of *December* following with great fortitude. The revolution reſtored him to his liberty, and the judgment given againſt him in 1686 was declared illegal and cruel, and his degradation null; and the houſe of Lords preſented two addreſſes to King WILLIAM recommending him to preferment: And the reaſon, why he never received any, is to be derived from his own temper and conduct. For with very good abilities, conſiderable learning, and great clearneſs, ſtrength, and vivacity of ſentiment and expreſſion, of which his writings are a ſufficient evidence, among which his few ſermons are equal in their kind to his other performances; and with a firmneſs of mind capable of ſupporting the ſevereſt trials for any cauſe, the truth or importance of which he was convinc'd of; he was paſſionate, impatient of contradiction, ſelf-opinionated, haughty, and apt to over-rate his own ſervices, and undervalue thoſe of others, whoſe advancement above himſelf was an inſupportable mortification to him. In what manner he treated Biſhop BURNET, againſt whom he had a peculiar ſpleen, appears from his writings, eſpecially his *Notes on the Phœnix edition of the paſtoral letter*. Nor was he was much more gentle to Dean TILLOTSON, eſpecially on account of his letter to Lord RUSSEL: But the Dean bore it with his uſual temper, and ſtill endeavoured to ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power, and in ſo ſecret a manner, that Mr. JOHN-

SON

SON ſhould not diſcover his obligations to him, it being not uncommon with the latter to return the kindneſſes received from perſons, whom he diſliked, with an air of the utmoſt contempt, as he did that of the Dean, when he ſent him a preſent of thirty pounds during his confinement in the King's Bench, though his neceſſities forced him to accept of the money. The roughneſs of his temper, and turbulency of his genius, rendered him alſo unfit for the higher ſtations of the church, of which he was immoderately ambitious; as well as his freedom in delivering his ſentiments with relation to all ſubjects and perſons, without management or decorum; a liberty, which he often exerciſed even in the Court itſelf, where he publicly ſaid, that upon the principle of Kings being accountable only to GOD, the Rump Parliament had done right to ſend King CHARLES I. to him. As he could not ſucceed in his applications for a Biſhopric in *England*, and would not ſubmit to any inferior preferment in the church, having refuſed the rich Deanry of *Durham*, he changed his former ſollicitations into one for a penſion from the King; in which he was at laſt gratified, having the grant of 300 *l.* a year for his own and his ſon's life, with 1000 *l.* in money, and a place of 100 *l.* a year for his ſon.

The King had now fixed upon Dr. TILLOTSON for the ſucceſſor to the ſuſpended Archbiſhop, if the latter ſhould incur, as he ſeemed determined, a ſentence of deprivation: And he communicated this intention to the Doctor, when he kiſs'd his Majeſty's hands for the Deanry of *St. Paul's*. But this fact will be beſt repreſented in the Dean's own words in his letter to Lady RUSSEL,

SEL, which I ſhall inſert here at length, as well as ſome others, ſince a mere abſtract would be an injury to the reader, and to as great a maſter of the epiſtolary, as all other kinds of writing. And it is obſervable, that this letter is an unanſwerable confutation of a report propagated to the diſadvantage of Biſhop BURNET, that he had a view himſelf to the Archbiſhopric, and that his diſappointment in that reſpect was the ground of an incurable reſentment againſt a Prince, to whom he had been ſo much obliged.

London, April 19. 1689.

" [c] Honoured Madam,

" I Received both your letters, and before the " latter came to my hands, I gave your " Ladyſhip ſome kind of anſwer to the firſt, " as the time would let me, for the poſt ſtaid " for it. But having now a little more leiſure " you will, I hope, give me leave to trouble " you with a longer letter.

" I was not at *Hampton-court* laſt *Sunday*, be- " ing almoſt tired out with ten weeks attendance, " ſo that I have had no opportunity to try fur- " ther in the buſineſs I wrote of in my laſt, but " hope to bring it to ſome iſſue the next oppor- " tunity I can get to ſpeak with the King. I " am ſorry to ſee in Mr. JOHNSON ſo broad a " mixture of human frailty with ſo conſiderable " virtues. But when I look into myſelf, I muſt " think it pretty well, when any man's infirmi- " ties are in any meaſure over-balanced by his " better qualities. This good man, I am ſpeak- " ing of, has at ſome times not uſed me over-

" well;

[c] From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the right Reverend Dr. EDMUND GIBSON, late Lord Biſhop of *London*.

" well; for which I do not only forgive him,
" when I conſider for whoſe ſake he did it, but
" do heartily love him.

" The King, beſides his firſt bounty to Mr.
" WALKER [d], whoſe modeſty is equal to his
" merit, hath made him Biſhop of *London-Derry*,
" one of the beſt Biſhoprics in *Ireland*; that ſo
" he may receive the reward of that great ſer-
" vice in the place where he did it. It is in-
" credible how much every body is pleaſed with
" what the King hath done in this matter, and it
" is no ſmall joy to me to ſee, that GOD directs
" him to do ſo wiſely.

" I will now give your Ladyſhip a ſhort
" account of his Majeſty's diſpoſal of our *Eng-*
" *liſh* church preferments, which I think he hath
" done as well as could be expected in the midſt
" of the powerful importunities of ſo many great
" men, in whom I diſcern too much of court-
" art and contrivance for the preferment of their
" friends; yea even in my good Lord *Notting-*
" *ham* more than I could wiſh. This is a me-
" lancholy

[d] Mr. GEORGE WALKER, juſtly famous for his defence of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, was born of *Engliſh* parents in the county of *Tyrone*, in that kingdom, and educated in the univerſity of *Glaſgow* in *Scotland*. He was afterwards Rector of *Donoghmore*, not many miles from the city of *London-Derry*. Upon the revolution he raiſed a regiment for the defence of the Proteſtants, and upon intelligence of King JAMES having a deſign to beſiege *London-Derry*, retired thither, and being at laſt choſen Governor of it. After the raiſing of that ſiege he came to *England*, where he was moſt graciouſly received by their Majeſties, and on the 19th of *November* 1689, receiv'd the thanks of the houſe of Commons, having juſt before publiſhed an account of that ſiege. He was created Doctor of divinity by the univerſity of *Oxford* on the 26th of *February* $16\frac{8}{90}$, in his return to *Ireland*, where he was kill'd in the beginning of *July* 1690 at the paſſage of the *Boyne*, having reſolved to ſerve that campaign before he took poſſeſſion of his Biſhopric.

" lancholy conſideration to one in my ſtation, in " which I do not ſee how it is poſſible ſo to " manage a man's ſelf between civility and ſin- " cerity, between being willing to give words at " all, and able to do good to very few, as to " hold out an honeſt man, or even the reputa- " tion of being ſo, a year to an end.

" I promiſed a ſhort account, but I am long " before I come to it.

" The Dean of *St. Paul*'s, Biſhop of *Wor-* " *ceſter*; the Dean of *Peterborough*, of *Chiche-* " *ſter*. An humble ſervant of your's, Dean of " *St. Paul*'s. The Dean of *Norwich* is Dean of " *Canterbury*; and Dr. STANLEY, Clerk of his " Majeſty's cloſet, is Reſidentiary of *St. Paul*'s; " and Dr. FAIRFAX Dean of *Norwich*. The " Warden of *All Souls*[e] in *Oxford* is Prebendary " of *Canterbury*; and Mr. NIXON hath the other " Prebend there, void by the death of Dr. " JEFFRYES. Theſe two laſt merited of the " King

[e] Mr. LEOPOLD WILLIAM FINCH, fifth ſon of HENEAGE Earl of *Winchelſea* by Lady MARY, ſecond daughter of WILLIAM SEYMOUR, Duke of *Somerſet*. He was born at *Conſtantinople*, while his father was Embaſſador there, educated at *Chriſt-church* in *Oxford*, and elected Warden of *All-Souls* by mandamus of King JAMES II. on the 21ſt of *January* $168\frac{6}{7}$, having been elected Fellow of that college from *Chriſt-church*, where he was educated, and took the degree of Bachelor of arts, *December* 17. 1681, as he did that of Maſter, *December* 1685. How oppoſite his principles had been to thoſe of the revolution, in which he ſo early join'd, may be judged of by his dedication to JAMES Earl of *Abington*, of an *Engliſh* tranſlation of CORNELIUS NEPOS, by ſeveral hands, printed at *Oxford* in 1683; in which having ridiculed the Popiſh plot by the name of *Dr.* TITUS's *plot*, and rejoiced, that it *comes to the Fanatics turn to hang*, he complains of the *plague of Republican principles*, and glories in the Gownſmens *aſſerting one of the moſt ſacred eſſentials of the government, the lineal ſucceſſion, which could neither by the diſpenſation of the Pope, or the power of Parliament, be altered.*

" King in the Weſt, Mr. FINCH by going in
" early to him, and Mr. NIXON, who is my
" Lord of *Bath*'s Chaplain, by carrying meſ-
" ſages between the King and my Lord of *Bath*,
" as the King himſelf told me, with the hazard
" of his life. *St. Andrew*'s and *Covent Garden*
" are not yet diſpoſed. Dr. BIRCH (which I
" had almoſt forgot) is Prebendary of *Weſtmin-*
" *ſter*; and, which grieves me much, Monſ. AL-
" LIX put by at preſent. But my Lord Privy-
" Seal [f] would not be denied. The whole is as
" well as could eaſily be in the preſent circum-
" ſtances.

" But now begins my trouble. After I had
" kiſs'd the King's hand for the Deanry of *St.*
" *Paul*'s, I gave his Majeſty my moſt humble
" thanks, and told him, that now he had ſet me
" at eaſe for the remainder of my life. He re-
" plied, *No ſuch matter, I aſſure you*; and ſpoke
" plainly about a great place, which I dread to
" think of; and ſaid, *it was neceſſary for his ſer-*
" *vice, and he muſt charge it upon my conſcience.*
" Juſt as he had ſaid this, he was called to ſup-
" per, and I had only time to ſay, that when his
" Majeſty was at leiſure, I did believe I could
" ſatisfy him, that it would be moſt for his ſer-
" vice, that I ſhould continue in the ſtation, in
" which he had now placed me. This hath
" brought me into a real difficulty. For on the
" one hand it is hard to decline his Majeſty's
" commands, and much harder yet to ſtand out
" againſt ſo much goodneſs, as his Majeſty is
" pleaſed to uſe towards me. On the other, I
" can neither bring my inclination nor my judg-
" ment to it. This I owe to the Biſhop of
" *Saliſbury*,

[f] The Marquis of HALLIFAX.

" *Saliſbury*, one of the worſt and beſt friends I " know: Beſt for his ſingular good opinion " of me: And the worſt for directing the King " to this method, which I know he did; as if " his Lordſhip and I had concerted the matter " how to finiſh this fooliſh piece of diſſimula- " tion, in running away from a Biſhopric to " catch an Archbiſhopric. This fine device hath " thrown me ſo far into the briars, that, without " his Majeſty's great goodneſs, I ſhall never get " off without a ſcratch'd face. And now I will " tell your Ladyſhip the bottom of my heart. " I have of a long time, I thank GOD for it, " devoted myſelf to the public ſervice, with- " out any regard for myſelf; and to that end " have done the beſt I could, in the beſt man- " ner I was able. Of late GOD hath been pleaſed " by very ſevere ways, but in great goodneſs " to me, to wean me perfectly from the love " of this world; ſo that worldly greatneſs is " now not only undeſireable, but diſtaſteful to " me. And I do verily believe, that I ſhall be " able to do as much or more good in my pre- " ſent ſtation, than in a higher, and ſhall not " have one jot leſs intereſt or influence upon any " others to any good purpoſe; for the people " naturally love a man, that will take great " pains and little preferment. But on the other " hand, if I could force my inclination to take " this great place, I foreſee, that I ſhould ſink " under it, and grow melancholy and good for " nothing, and after a little while die as a fool " dies.

" But this, Madam, is a great deal too much " upon one of the worſt and niceſt ſubjects in " the world, a man's ſelf.

" As

" As I was finiſhing this long letter, which " if your goodneſs will forgive, I hope never " to have occaſion to try it ſo far again, I re- " ceived your letter, and ſhall ſay no more of " Dr. MORE, of whoſe preaching I always know " your Ladyſhip's opinion. The perſon I men- " tion'd was Mr. KIDDER, on whom the King " has beſtowed the Deanry of *Peterborough*, and " therefore cannot have it. I am fully of your " Ladyſhip's opinion, that what my Lord *Bed-* " *ford* does in this matter, muſt not appear to " be done by him, for fear of bringing other " importunities upon the King. If my Lord " thinks well of Dr. HORNECK, Dr. MORE " would then certainly have *St. Andrew*'s.

" I thank GOD for the health your family en- " joys, as for that of my own; and equally " pray for the continuance of it, and all other " bleſſings. I would fain find room to tender " my humble ſervice to my Lord of *Bedford*, " my Lord RUSSEL, and two of the beſt young " ladies I know. I am, HONOURED MADAM, " more than I can expreſs,

" Your moſt oblig'd and obedient ſervant,

" JOHN TILLOTSON."

Lady RUSSEL, in her anſwer to this letter, deſired to know of the Dean the characters of two of the city Divines, Mr. SAMUEL FREEMAN, and Mr. JOHN WILLIAMS, of the latter of whom ſhe had heard him ſpeak in very advantageous terms, ſince theſe two were now the only perſons, who lay before the Earl of *Bedford* for his conſideration; in order to be recommended to the King for the Living of *Covent-Garden*; his

Lordſhip not being inclin'd to Dr. MORE, and the pariſh in a high degree averſe to Dr. HORNECK. Her Ladyſhip then proceeds to the Dean's own caſe. " Now a few words, *ſays ſhe*, to " your own concern, that bears ſo heavy upon " your mind; and I have done. I know not, " if I ſhould uſe the phraſe, integrity is my idol; " but I am ſure I admire and love it hugely, " wherever I meet it. I do pity you, Mr. Dean, " and think you have a hard game upon your " hands; which, if it ſhould happen you cannot " play off your own way, you can do better " than a man leſs mortified to the world could; " becauſe if you ſerve the intereſt of religion and " the King's, you are doing what you have " dedicated yourſelf to, and therefore can be " more regardleſs of ignorant and wicked cen- " ſures; for, upon my word, I believe you will " incur no other. Your character is above it, " if what you fear, ſhould come upon you. But " as I conceive there are ſix months yet to de- " liberate upon this matter, you know the old " ſaying, *many things fall out between the cup* " *and the lip.* And pray do not fill your head " with the fears of a trouble, though never ſo " great, that is at a diſtance, and may never be. " For if you think too much on a matter you " dread, it will certainly diſturb your quiet, and " that will infallibly injure your health; and you " cannot, but ſee, Sir, that would be of a bad " conſequence. The King is willing to hear " you; you know your own heart to do good; " and you have lived ſome time, and have had " experience. You ſay well, that ſuch a one " is the beſt and worſt friend. I think I ſhould " have had more tenderneſs to the will and tem-

" per

" per of my friend. And for his juſtification, " one may ſay, he prefers good to many, before " gratifying one ſingle perſon; and a public " good ought to carry a man a great way. But " I ſee your judgment (if your inclination does " not bias too far) is heartily againſt him in " this matter, that you think you cannot do ſo " much good then, as now. We muſt ſee, if " you can convince him thereof; and when he " is maſter of that nation [g], then let him labour " to make your way out of thoſe briars he has " done his part to bring you into; tho' ſome- " thing elſe would have done it without him, I " believe, if I am not miſtaken in this, no more " than I am, that this letter is much too long."

The Dean's reply [h] to this letter was written a few days after.

Edmonton, Sept. 24, 1689.

" HONOURED MADAM,

" JUST now I received your Ladyſhip's let- " ter. Since my laſt, and not before, I un- " derſtand the great averſeneſs of the pariſh from " Dr. HORNECK; ſo that if my Lord of *Bed-* " *ford* had liked him, I could not have thought " it fit, knowing how neceſſary it is to the good " effect of a man's miniſtry, that he do not lie " under any great prejudice with the people. " The two, whom the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* [i] hath " nam'd, are, I think, of the worthieſt of the " city-miniſters, ſince Mr. KIDDER declines it, " for the reaſon given by the Biſhop; and, if he " did not, could not have it, not becauſe of

[g] *Ireland.* [h] From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the late Biſhop of *London.* [i] Dr. PATRICK.

" any inconſiſtency in the preferments, but be-
" cauſe the King having ſo many obligations yet
" to anſwer, cannot at the ſame time give two
" ſuch preferments to one man. For the two
" perſons mention'd, if compariſon muſt be
" made between two very good men, I will tell
" your Ladyſhip my free thoughts of them.

" Mr. WILLIAMS is really one of the beſt men
" I know, and moſt unwearied in doing good,
" and his preaching very weighty and judicious.
" The other is a truly pious man, and of a
" winning converſation. He preaches well, and
" hath much the more plauſible delivery, and,
" I think, a ſtronger voice. Both of them
" (which I had almoſt forgot) have been ſteady
" in all changes of times. This is the plain
" truth; and yet I muſt not conceal one parti-
" cular and preſent advantage on Dr. FREE-
" MAN's ſide. On *Sunday*-night laſt the King
" aſk'd me concerning a city-miniſter, whoſe
" name he had forgot; but ſaid he had a very
" kind remembrance of him, having had much
" converſation with him, when his Majeſty was
" very young in *Holland*, and wondered he had
" never ſeen him ſince he came into *England*.
" I could not imagine who he ſhould be, till his
" Majeſty told me he was the *Engliſh* Ambaſſa-
" dor's Chaplain above 20 years ago; mean-
" ing Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's. Upon that I
" knew it was Dr. FREEMAN. The King ſaid,
" that was his name, and deſired me to find
" him out, and tell him, that he had not forgot
" him, but remembred with pleaſure the ac-
" quaintance he had with him many years ago;
" and had charged me, when there was an op-
" portunity, to put him in mind of him. This

" I

" I thought both great goodneſs in the King, " and modeſty in Dr. FREEMAN, never to ſhew " himſelf to the King all this while. By this " your Ladyſhip will judge, who is like to be " moſt acceptable to the King, whoſe ſatisfaction " as well as ſervice I am oblig'd to regard, eſpe- " cially in the diſpoſal of his own preferments, " tho' Mr. WILLIAMS be much more my friend.

" I mentioned Mr. JOHNSON again, but his " Majeſty put on other diſcourſe; and my Lord " Privy-Seal told me yeſterday morning, that " the King thought it a little hard to give pen- " ſions out of his purſe, inſtead of church-pre- " ferments; and tells me Mr. JOHNSON is very " ſharp upon me: his Lordſhip called it railing; " but it ſhall not move me in the leaſt. His " Lordſhip aſk'd me, whether it would not be " well to move the King to give him a good " Biſhopric in *Ireland*, there being ſeveral void. " I thought it very well, if it would be accept- " able. His Lordſhip ſaid, that was all one: " the offer would ſtop many mouths as well as " his; which I think was well conſidered.

" I will ſay no more of myſelf, but only thank " your Ladyſhip for your good advice, which " I have always a great diſpoſition to follow, " and a great deal of reaſon, being aſſur'd it is " ſincere as well as wiſe. The King hath ſet " upon me again with greater earneſtneſs of per- " ſuaſion, than is fit for one, that may com- " mand. I begg'd as earneſtly to be conſidered " in this thing, and ſo we parted upon good " terms. I hope ſomething will happen to " hinder it. I put it out of my mind as much " as I can, and leave it to the good provi- " dence of GOD for the thing to find its own

" iſſue. To that I commend you and yours,
" and am, MADAM,

" Yours by all poſſible obligation,

" J. TILLOTSON.

" If Mr. JOHNSON refuſe this offer, and it
" ſhould be my hard fortune not to be able to
" get out of this difficulty, which I will, if it
" be poſſible to do it without provocation, I
" know one, that will do more for Mr. JOHNSON
" than was deſired of the King; but ſtill as from
" the King, for any thing, that he ſhall know.
" But I hope ſome much better way will be
" found; and that there will be neither occaſion
" nor opportunity for this."

The Dean's recommendation in this letter of Dr. FREEMAN had its full weight in procuring him the Rectory of *Covent-Garden*, to which he was inſtituted *December* 28, 1689 [k], being removed thither from that of *St. Anne's Alderſgate*, to which he had been preſented in *November* 1670 by Dr. HENCHMAN Biſhop of *London* [l]. He had been alſo Vicar of his native town of *Olney* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and was preferred to the Deanry of *Peterborough* about *Auguſt* 1691, upon the advancement of Dr. KIDDER to the Biſhopric of *Bath and Wells*, and was ſucceeded in that Deanry at his death, which happened *October* 14th 1707, at the age of ſixty-three, by Dr. WHITE KENNET, afterwards Biſhop of *Peterborough* [m]. He was a man of great pleaſantry in converſation; but his performances in the

[k] NEWCOURT Repertorium, *vol.* I. *p.* 279. [l] Ibid.
[m] WILLIS's Survey.

the pulpit were not equally admired: on which account Dr. GARTH introduced him in the fourth canto of his *Diſpenſary*, under the epithet of *myſterious*, and deſcribed him with as *preaching his pariſh to a lethargy*.

Mr. WILLIAMS, the other divine, mentioned by the Dean as a friend highly eſteemed by him, was a native of *Northamptonſhire*, and entered in 1651 a Commoner of *Magdalen-Hall* in the univerſity of *Oxford*, at the age of about ſeventeen [n], and took the degree of Bachelor of arts *December* 14th 1655 [o], and that of Maſter *June* 11th 1658 [p]; about which time he entered into holy orders. He was collated to the Rectory of *St. Mildred* in the *Poultry* in the city of *London* in *September* 1673 [q], and to the Prebend of *Rugmere* in the cathedral of *St. Paul's* in *September* 1683 [r]. After the revolution he became Chaplain to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and was preferred to a Prebend of *Canterbury*, and in *December* 1696 advanced to the Biſhopric of *Chicheſter*, in which he died in 1709. He was a conſiderable writer in the controverſies with the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and preached the lectures founded by Mr. BOYLE, his ſermons on that occaſion being publiſhed in 1695 in 4to, under the title of *The characters of divine revelation*.

The grounds of the great averſeneſs in the pariſh of *Covent-Garden* to Dr. ANTHONY HORNECK

[n] WOOD. Athen. Oxon. *vol.* II. *col.* 1119, 1120.

[o] Faſt. Oxon. *vol.* II. *col.* 108. [p] Ibid. *col.* 122.

[q] NEWCOURT Repertorium, *vol.* I. *p.* 208. Mr. WOOD. Athen. Oxon, *vol.* II. *col.* 1120. ſays, that he had been before this Miniſter of *St. Peter's Paul's-Wharf*, and Vicar of *Wrotham* in *Kent*. But we find by NEWCOURT, *vol.* I. *p.* 528. that this was another perſon of the ſame name, who died not long before the revolution. [r] NEWCOURT, *vol.* I. *p.* 208.

are not eaſy to be aſſigned at this diſtance of time. But their diſlike to him was the more extraordinary, conſidering his prodigious popularity on account of his reputation for piety, and his pathetic ſermons, his church at the *Savoy* being crouded by auditors from the moſt remote parts; which occaſioned Dean FREEMAN to ſay, that Dr. HORNECK's pariſh was much the largeſt in town, ſince it reached from *White-Hall* to *White-Chapel*. He was by birth a *German*, being born at *Baccharach* in the *Lower Palatinate* in 1641, and was educated at *Heidelbergh*, and then at *Leyden*, and at the age of nineteen coming over to *England*, was entered of *Queen's-College Oxford*, *December* 24, 1663. Two years after he became tutor to the Lord *Torrington*, ſon to GEORGE Duke of *Albemarle*, who gave him the Living of *Doulton* in *Devonſhire*, and procured him a Prebend in the church of *Exeter* from Biſhop SPARROW. In 1671 he was choſen Preacher at the *Savoy*, upon which he reſign'd his Living in *Devonſhire*, being irreconcilable to pluralities and non-reſidence [s]. The noble family of the RUSSEL's having a great regard for him, Admiral RUSSEL, afterwards Earl of *Orford*, recommended him to the Queen for preferment; who, by the advice of Dr. TILLOTSON, then Archbiſhop, promiſed the next Prebend of *Weſtminſter* that ſhould fall; and he accordingly was preſented to it in 1693 by her Majeſty, to whom he was introduced by the Archbiſhop, being now reſtored to his Grace's good opinion from the prejudices, which had been raiſed againſt him [t]. He and Dr. BEVERIDGE had the chief directions

[s] Life of ANTHONY HORNECK, D. D. by RICHARD Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, p. 3—8. *Edit.* London 1698. [t] Ibid. *p.* 17—21.

directions of the religious ſocieties, which began to be formed in the reign of King JAMES II. He died of the ſtone at his houſe near *Weſtminſter-Abbey* on the 31ſt of *January* $169\frac{6}{7}$, in the 56th year of his age.

Mr. NELSON being at *Paris*, after having attended his Lady to *Aix* in *Provence* for the recovery of her health, the Dean wrote from *Edmonton* a letter to him on the 15th of *October* 1689, in anſwer to one from that gentleman of the 30th of *July*. In this letter he gives an account of the diſpoſal of the church-preferments in the manner mentioned in his letter to Lady RUSSEL of *September* the 19th, with this addition, that Mr. KIDDER and Mr. FREEMAN had by his intereſt been created Doctors of divinity at *Cambridge*, while the King was there in the beginning of *October*; and that Dr. MORE was preſented to the Rectory of *St. Andrew's Holborn*, and Dr. GILBERT IRONSIDE promoted to the See of *Briſtol*. The latter, who was the ſon of a Biſhop of *Briſtol* of both his names, had been educated in *Wadham-College* in *Oxford*, while Dr. WILKINS, whom he then highly admired for his great abilities, was Warden of it; an office, which he afterwards filled himſelf upon the promotion of Dr. BLANDFORD to the Biſhopric of *Oxford* in 1665. His diſlike of the proceedings of Biſhop FELL, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, which he thought ſomewhat arbitrary [u], prevented him from accepting the office of Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity, till after the death of that Prelate in *July* 1686; but in the years 1687 and 1688 he undertook and diſcharged it with all the firmneſs

[u] WOOD. Athen. Oxon. *vol.* II. *col.* 1184. See likewiſe *col.* 1170.

neſs and reſolution requiſite at a time, when the rights of the univerſity, and the ſafety of the Proteſtant religion were in immediate danger. And it was by his addreſs and management, that upon the earlieſt notice poſſible of the death of JAMES the firſt Duke of *Ormond*, at *Kingſton-Hall* in *Dorſetſhire* on the 21ſt of *July* 1688 in the evening, the univerſity proceeded to the election of his grandſon, the late Duke of *Ormond*, for their Chancellor, on the 23d in the morning; by which means they anticipated the King's mandate in favour of the Lord-Chancellor *Jeffries*.

In the former part of this year 1689, the Dean and his friend Dr. SHARP, now Dean of *Canterbury*, were involv'd in a buſineſs, which took up no ſmall ſhare of their time. It was a truſt, in which they were engaged by the will of ROBERT ASKE, Eſq; Alderman of *London*, and founder of the magnificent hoſpital at *Hoxton* near that city, for maintaining twenty poor men of the company of *Haberdaſhers*, of which he was a member, and twenty boys with a proper education. He dying, and leaving conſiderable effects, had made them joint executors of his will, and the *Haberdaſhers* company his heirs; and among other legacies had left each of the executors 200 *l.* and 400 *l.* to twenty ſuch poor Clergymen, as they ſhould nominate. The executors were ſo prudent, as to let the agents of the company, whoſe concern in this matter was the greateſt, have the cuſtody of all the ready money and bonds, which were found belonging to the deceaſed; or at leaſt they were put into ſome common hand truſted by both parties till the will was completely executed: nor was there

any thing tranſacted relating to this truſt from the time, that the will was open'd, till that of the ſurrendering all their concerns into the hands of the company, but in the preſence, and with the advice and conſent of the deputies of the company, particularly Sir THOMAS VERNON, and Mr. MOULD; which latter kept the accounts of all things done in this affair. This caution of theirs proved afterwards of great importance to them, by enabling them to give full ſatisfaction to ſome, who had ſuſpected, upon falſe ſuggeſtions made to them, that the executors had diſpoſed of ſome of the Alderman's effects, before they delivered in the ſchedule to the company. And this ſuſpicion being rais'd at a time, when they were both Metropolitans, would have been ſomething more than a blot upon their private characters, had they not had ſufficient evidences to recur to, of their great care and honeſty in the management of their truſt [w].

The Dean of *St. Paul's*, among other ſubjects of his ſermons before their Majeſties in his courſe, took one upon a point of a very delicate nature, before the Queen on the 7th of *March* $16\frac{89}{90}$. It was upon *Matth.* xxv. 46. concerning the *eternity of Hell torments*, which he ſoon after printed. This ſermon gave occaſion to a new clamour againſt him, as if he had abſolutely denied the doctrine itſelf; and a groundleſs and abſurd ſtory has been handed down amongſt the Nonjuring party, that it was written by way of conſolation to the Queen, then under the horrors of deſpair on account of her behaviour to her father.

[w] Extract of the MS. life of Dr. JOHN SHARP, Archbiſhop of *York*, by his ſon Dr. THOMAS SHARP, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, communicated by him to me in his letter of *November* 7, 1751.

ther. Dr. HICKES [x] diſcharges all the venom of his pen againſt this *wretched ſermon*, as he ſtyles it, calling out upon the Convocation to cenſure it, repreſenting it as a matter of triumph to *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, and *Socinians*; and ſuggeſting, that the reaſoning of it was borrowed from a manuſcript diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, ſtill extant, which Dr. HICKES owns he had never ſeen, written *by an old ſceptic of* Norwich. By this deſcription he meant Mr. JOHN WHITEFOOT, who, while Rector of *Heigham* in *Norfolk*, preached and publiſhed the funeral ſermon upon the death of that learned and venerable Prelate, Dr. JOSEPH HALL, Biſhop of *Norwich*, on the 8th of *September* 1656, in the 82d year of his age, and was afterwards Rector of *St. Peter's* of *Mancroft* in *Norwich*.

This ſermon of the Dean, which has been ſo elaborately defended by Monſ. LE CLERC in his *Bibliotheque choiſie* [y] in 1705, induced Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, one of the moſt pious and moderate of the Nonjurors, who had been formerly Fellow of *Lincoln-college* in *Oxford*, and was Vicar of *Coleſhill* in *Warwickſhire* till the Revolution, to make ſome additions to his *Practical believer*, firſt publiſhed in 1688, upon the firſt and laſt article of the Creed, the one concerning the proportion between ſin and puniſhment, and the other with relation to the diſpenſing power in GOD as to puniſhments [z]. Dr. WHITBY likewiſe in the ſecond volume of his *Paraphraſe and commentary on the New Teſtament*, firſt publiſhed in 1700, and reprinted in 1706, inſerted an *Appendix* to the firſt chapter of the ſecond

[x] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 44—47.

[y] *Tom.* VII. *Art.* 8. *p.* 292. *& ſeqq.*

[z] Life of Mr. KETTLEWELL, *p.* 163.

ſecond epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians*, to ſhew, that the endleſs miſeries and torments of the wicked are well conſiſtent both with the juſtice and the goodneſs of GOD; in which he endeavours to confute ſome of the Dean's arguments on that ſubject, whom he deſcribes by the epithets of a *great*, *learned*, and *excellent* perſon. And the main reaſonings of that ſermon were directly attack'd in 1706, in one preached before the univerſity of *Oxford*, and publiſhed by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) WILLIAM LUPTON, who after having been Fellow of the ſame College with Mr. KETTLEWELL, and Curate to Biſhop BULL, was called to *London* to one of the moſt eminent Lectures there, at *St. Dunſtan's* in the weſt, then choſen preacher at *Lincoln's Inn*, and at laſt collated to a Prebend of *Durham* by Biſhop CREW, whom he has highly complimented in a ſermon on *Prov.* iii. 16. concerning *the temporal advantages of religion*, preached before his Lordſhip on the fiftieth anniverſary of his conſecration, by applying to him the doctrine of his text. In his ſermon againſt the Archbiſhop's diſcourſe, he deſcribes it as *too well known* [a], and a plain inſtance, that *even the greateſt men have their intervals of miſapprehenſion and miſtake*, tho' he owns his Grace's *extraordinary perſonal accompliſhments*. This ſermon was reprinted with ſeveral others of Dr. LUPTON's, after his death, at *Tunbridge-Wells*, on the 14th of *December* 1726, and will enable the public to judge of them, ſeparately from the advantage which they received from the ſolemnity of his pronunciation and appearance, how far they deſerved the encomium

[a] Dr. LUPTON's ſermons, *p.* 22.

mium given them by Mr. NELSON [b], (who ſeems upon this occaſion to have forgot thoſe of his friend Dr. TILLOTSON) of their being *a fit model for the preachers of the riſing generation.* Dr. LUPTON himſelf was leſs perſuaded of the perfection of his own diſcourſes; for I am well informed, that he deſired in his laſt illneſs, that they might not be publiſhed, acknowledging that he was not that great man, which the world had been ſo favourable as to miſtake him to be. And indeed he had in ſome meaſure undeceived the judicious in his life-time, by his ſermons at Lady MOYER's lecture at *St. Paul's*, which were thought by his friends and ſuperiors ſo little equal to the ſubject, and his own character, that he was diſſuaded from the publication of them.

The diſpute upon this important queſtion was reviv'd by Mr. WHISTON in 1740, in a tract reprinted in 1752, and intitled, *The eternity of Hell-torments inquired into, with a refutation of the common opinion concerning them from ſcripture and reaſon:* the main poſition of which he had laid down in a diſcourſe written about *September* 1707, and printed in *his ſermons and eſſays* [c] in 1709. Mr. WHISTON's tract was anſwered by Mr. (now Dr.) WILLIAM DODWELL, Rector of *Shotteſbrook* in *Berkſhire*, in two ſermons preached before the univerſity of *Oxford* in *March* 1741, and printed there in 8vo in 1743; in the preface to which he affirms, that the article of the eternity of future puniſhment "is ſo fundamental a part of the Chriſtian religion, and ſo intimately united with its moſt eſſential doctrines, and is in itſelf the ſtrongeſt inforcement of its practical duties, that it is ſcarce poſſible

[b] Life of Biſhop BULL, *p.* 491. [c] *P.* 220, 221.

" poſſible to attack it in a more vital branch,
" or more to leſſen the influence of this great
" and gracious ſcheme for the reformation of
" mankind, than by weakening the ſanctions,
" with which the divine lawgiver has ſupport-
" ed it."

EPISCOPIUS, the moſt juſtly celebrated writer among the *Armenians*, his *Inſtitutiones theologicæ*, and other writings, having contributed very much to the forming of ſome of the greateſt Divines of our country in the laſt age, and in particular Archbiſhop TILLOTSON himſelf, has in his anſwer to the ſixty-ſecond queſtion *De æternitate pœnarum inferni* [d], treated that ſubject in the ſame manner with his Grace. But whoever is curious to ſee it thoroughly diſcuſſed, may conſult the ſeveral authors cited by the learned Dr. EDMUND LAW, Archdeacon of *Carliſle*, in his notes upon his tranſlation of Archbiſhop KING's *Latin* diſcourſe *concerning the origin of evil.*

Upon the meeting of the new parliament on the 20th of *March* $16\frac{89}{90}$, their Majeſties having appointed a faſt, on the 16th of *April* following, to implore the divine favour and bleſſing on their forces and preparations by ſea and land, and for the preſervation of the King's perſon, who was then determined to hazard it in *Ireland* againſt King JAMES, tho' ſupported by a body of *French* troops, as well as the whole ſtrength of the Papiſts in that kingdom, the Dean was deſired by the houſe of Commons to preach before them on that occaſion. His ſermon was upon *Eccleſ.* ix. 11. to ſhew, that *ſucceſs is not always anſwerable to the probability of ſecond cauſes.* And on another faſt on the 18th of *June* 1690, he

[d] *P.* 67. *Edit.* Amſterdam. 1650, *fol.*

he preached before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* on *Jerem.* vi. 8. pointing out the *way to prevent the ruin of a ſinful people.* This ſermon he likewiſe publiſhed, with a dedication to Sir THO. PILKINGTON, then Lord-Mayor, in which he expreſſed his wiſhes, that it might have the good effect intended by him, for the reformation of manners, and reconciliation of the unhappy differences of that time; the latter of which topics he inſiſts on with great force and pathos, complaining, that the unhappy and odious names and diſtinctions of parties, which had been laid aſide during their common danger, were immediately after their deliverance by the revolution revived with greater heats and animoſities, if poſſible, than before. Nor were theſe two his only faſt-ſermons during that year; for he preach'd a third before the Queen at *Whitehall* on the 16th of *September* 1690, upon *Zech.* vii. 5. *how to keep a truly religious faſt.* In this diſcourſe he takes occaſion to mention *the late wonderful deliverance under the conduct and valour of one of the beſt and braveſt of Princes,* whom he ſtyles "the great benefactor not only "to theſe nations, but even to all *Europe,* in "aſſerting and maintaining their liberties againſt "the inſolent pride and unjuſt encroachments of "one of the greateſt oppreſſors the world had "known for many ages;" to whom he beautifully applies the deſcription of the *Leviathan* in *Job.* He propoſes likewiſe to the whole court the pattern ſet them by the Queen, "of a de-"cent and unaffected devotion, of a moſt ſeri-"ous and ſteady attention, without wandering, "without diverſion, and without drowſineſs: "Such an example, *adds he,* as I cannot but

" hope will in a ſhort time gain upon us all, " and by a more gentle and ſilent reproof win " us to the imitation of it."

The See of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the deprivation of Archbiſhop SANCROFT on the 1ſt of *February* $16\frac{89}{90}$, the King continued, for ſeveral months after, his importunities to the Dean for his acceptance of it; which he ſtill endeavoured to avoid. In this ſituation he wrote the following letter to Lady RUSSEL, which begins with a condolence upon the loſs of two of her near relations, her ſiſter the Counteſs of *Montagu*, and her nephew WRIOTHESLY BAPTIST, Earl of *Gainſborough*, who died on the 21ſt of *September* that year; the former of whom her Ladyſhip, in a letter to Biſhop BURNET of the 16th of *October*, deſcribes as *ſo amiable a creature*, that ſhe deſerv'd *to be remember'd by all thoſe who knew her*; and the latter *as a juſt ſincere man.*

" *Edmonton, Oct.* 9. 1690.

" [c] Honour'd Madam,

" SINCE I had the honour of your letter, " I was tempted to have troubled you with " one of mine upon the ſad occaſion of your " late great loſs of two ſo near relations, and " ſo near together. But I conſidered, why " ſhould I pretend to be able either to inſtruct " or comfort my Lady RUSSEL, who hath " borne things much more grievous with ſo " exemplary a meekneſs and ſubmiſſion to the " will

[c] From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the late Biſhop of *London.*

" will of GOD, and knows as well as I can tell
" her, that there is no remedy in theſe caſes but
" patience, nor any comfort but in the hopes of
" the happy meeting of our deceaſed friends in
" a better life, in which ſorrow and tears ſhall
" have no more place to all eternity?

" And now I crave leave to impart ſomething
" of my own trouble to your Ladyſhip.

" On *Sunday* laſt the King commanded me to
" wait upon him the next morning at *Kenſington*.
" I did ſo, and met with what I feared. His
" Majeſty renewed his former gracious offer in
" ſo preſſing a manner, and with ſo much kind-
" neſs, that I hardly knew how to reſiſt it. I
" made the beſt acknowledgments I could of
" his undeſerved grace and favour to me, and
" begg'd of him to conſider all the conſequences
" of this matter, being well aſſured, that all
" that ſtorm, which was raiſed in Convocation
" the laſt year by thoſe, who will be the church
" of *England*, was upon my account; and that
" the Biſhop of *L*—— was at the bottom of it,
" out of a jealouſy, that I might be a hindrance
" to him in attaining what he deſires, and what,
" I call GOD to witneſs, I would not have. And
" I told his Majeſty, that I was ſtill afraid, that
" his kindneſs to me would be greatly to his
" prejudice, eſpecially if he carried it ſo far, as
" he was then pleaſed to ſpeak. For I plainly
" ſaw they could not bear it; and that the
" effects of envy and ill-will towards me would
" terminate upon him. To which he replied,
" that if the thing were once done, and they
" ſaw no remedy, they would give over, and
" think of making the beſt of it: And therefore
" he muſt deſire me to think ſeriouſly of it;

" with other expreſſions not fit for me to repeat.
" To all which I anſwered, that in obedience to
" his Majeſty's commands I would conſider of
" it again, though I was afraid I had already
" thought more of it than had done me good,
" and muſt break through one of the greateſt
" reſolutions of my life, and ſacrifice at once all
" the eaſe and contentment of it; which yet I
" would force myſelf to do, were I really con-
" vinced, that I was in any meaſure capable of
" doing his Majeſty and the public that ſervice,
" which he was pleaſed to think I was. He
" ſmil'd, and ſaid, *you talk of trouble; I believe*
" *you will have much more eaſe in it, than in the*
" *condition, in which you now are.* Thinking
" not fit to ſay more, I humbly took leave.

" And now, Madam, what ſhall I do? My
" thoughts were never at ſuch a plunge. I know
" not how to bring my mind to it; and, on the
" other hand, though the compariſon is very
" unequal, when I remember how I ſaw the
" King affected in the caſe of my Lord of
" *Shrewſbury*, I find myſelf in great ſtrait, and
" would not for all the world give him the like
" trouble. I pray GOD to direct me to that,
" which he ſees and knows to be beſt, for I
" know not what to do. I hope I ſhall have
" your prayers, and would be glad of your ad-
" vice, if the King would ſpare me ſo long.
" I pray GOD to preſerve you and yours.

" I am, Honour'd Madam, *&c.*

" JO. TILLOTSON."

To this letter her Ladyſhip returned an anſwer a few days after, in theſe terms:

" THE time ſeems to be come, that you
" muſt put anew in practice that ſub-
" miſſion you have ſo powerfully both tried
" yourſelf, and inſtructed others to. I ſee no
" place to eſcape it. You muſt take up the
" croſs, and bear it. I faithfully believe it has
" the figure of a very heavy one to you, though
" not from the cares of it. The King gueſſes
" right; you toil more now. But this work is
" of your own chooſing; and the dignity of
" the other is what you have bent your mind
" againſt, and the ſtrong reſolve of your life has
" been to avoid. Had this even proceeded to a
" vow, it is, I think, like the virgin's of old,
" to be diſſolv'd by the father of your country.
" Again, though contemplation, and a few
" friends well choſen, would be your grateful
" choice; yet if charity, obedience, and neceſ-
" ſity call you into the world, and where ene-
" mies encompaſs round about, muſt not you
" accept it? And each of theſe, in my appre-
" henſion, determine you ſo to do. In ſhort, it
" will be a noble ſacrifice you will make; and I
" am confident you will find, as a reward, kind
" and tender ſupports, if you do take the bur-
" den upon you. There is, as it were, a com-
" manding providence in the manner of it.
" Perhaps I do as ſincerely wiſh your thoughts
" at eaſe as any friend you have. But I think
" you may purchaſe that too dear: and if you
" ſhould come to think ſo too, they would then
" be as reſtleſs as before. Sir, I believe you
" would be as much a common good as you
" can. Conſider, how few of ability and inte-
" grity this age produces. Pray do not turn

" this

" this matter too much in your head. When " one has once turn'd it every way, you know, " that more does perplex; and one never ſees " the better for it. Be not ſtiff, if it be ſtill " urg'd to you. Conform to the divine will, " which has ſet it ſo ſtrongly into the other's " mind; and be content to endure. It is GOD " calls you to it. I believe it was wiſely ſaid, " that when there is no remedy, they will give " over, and make the beſt of it. And ſo, I " hope, no ill will terminate on the King, and " they will lay up their arrows, when they " perceive they will be ſhot in vain at him or " you, upon whom no reflection, that I can " think of, can be made, that is ingenuous; " and what is pure malice, you are above being " affected with. I wiſh, for many reaſons, my " prayers, were more worthy; but ſuch as they " are, I offer them with a ſincere zeal to the " throne of grace for you in this ſtrait, that " you may be led out of it, as ſhall beſt ſerve " the great end and deſigns of GOD's glory."

This letter contributed not a little to determine him at laſt to acquieſce in the King's pleaſure, if his Majeſty ſhould ſtill preſs him, who now inſiſted upon a peremptory anſwer. The reſult of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to Lady RUSSEL[f].

" *October* 25, 1690.

" Honoured Madam,

" I AM obliged to your Ladyſhip beyond all " expreſſion, for taking my caſe ſo ſeriouſly " into your conſideration, and giving me your

[f] From a copy in ſhort-hand in his Common place book.

" mature thoughts upon it. Nothing ever came
" more ſeaſonably to me than your letter, which
" I received on *Wedneſday* ſennight, the very
" night before I was to have given my final
" anſwer to the King the next morning. I
" thank you for it. It helped very much to
" ſettle and determine my wavering mind. I
" weighed all you wrote, both your advice and
" your arguments, having not only an aſſurance
" of your true friendſhip and good will for me,
" but a very great regard and deference for
" your judgment and opinion. I cannot but
" own the weight of that conſideration, which
" you are pleaſed to urge me withal; I mean
" the viſible marks of a more than ordinary
" providence of GOD in this thing; that the
" King, who likes not either to importune, or
" to be denied, ſhould, after ſo obſtinate a de-
" clining of the thing on my part, ſtill perſiſt
" to preſs it upon me with ſo much kindneſs,
" and with that earneſtneſs of perſuaſion, which
" it does not become me to mention. I wiſh I
" could think the King had a ſuperior direction
" in this, as I verily believe he hath had in ſome
" other things of much greater importance.

" The next morning I went to *Kenſington* full
" of fear, but yet determined what was fit for
" me to do. I met the King coming out of his
" cloſet, and aſking if his coach was ready.
" He took me aſide, and I told him, that in
" obedience to his Majeſty's command I had
" conſidered of the thing as well as I could, and
" came to give him my anſwer. I perceived
" his Majeſty was going out, and therefore de-
" ſired him to appoint me another time, which
" he did on the *Saturday* morning after.

" Then

" Then I came again, and he took me into " his cloſet, where I told him, that I could not " but have a deep ſenſe of his Majeſty's great " grace and favour to me, not only to offer me " the beſt thing he had to give, but to preſs it " ſo earneſtly upon me. I ſaid, I would not " preſume to argue the matter any farther, but " I hoped he would give me leave to be ſtill " his humble and earneſt petitioner to ſpare me " in that thing. He anſwered, he would do ſo, " if he could, but he knew not what to do, if " I refuſed it. Upon that I told him, that I " tendered my life to him, and did humbly de- " vote [it] to be diſpoſed of as he thought fit. " He was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, it was the " beſt news had come to him this great while. " I did not kneel down to kiſs his hand, for " without that I doubt I am too ſure of it; but " requeſted of him, that he would defer the de- " claration of it, and let it be a ſecret for ſome " time. He ſaid he thought it might not be " amiſs to defer it till the Parliament was up. " I begg'd farther of him, that he would not " make me a wedge to drive out the preſent " Archbiſhop: That ſome time before I was " nominated, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to " declare in council, that ſince his lenity had " not had any better effect, he would wait no " more, but would diſpoſe of their places. This " I told him I humbly deſired, that I might " not be thought to do any thing harſh, or " which might reflect upon me; for now that " his Majeſty had thought fit to advance me to " this ſtation, my reputation was become his in- " tereſt. He ſaid, he was ſenſible of it, and " thought it reaſonable to do as I deſired.

" I craved leave of him to mention one thing " more, which in juſtice to my family, eſpecially " my wife, I ought to do, that I ſhould be more " than undone by the great and neceſſary charge " of coming into this place, and muſt therefore " be an humble petitioner to his Majeſty, that " if it ſhould pleaſe GOD to take me out of the " world, that I muſt unavoidably leave my wife " a beggar, he would not ſuffer her to be ſo; " and that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to " conſider, that the widow of an Archbiſhop " of *Canterbury* (which would now be an odd " figure in *England*) could not decently be ſup- " ported by ſo little, as would have contented " her very well, if I had died a Dean. To this " he gave a very gracious anſwer, *I promiſe you* " *to take care of her.*

" Juſt as I had finiſhed the laſt ſentence, an- " other very kind letter from your Ladyſhip was " brought to me, wherein I find your tender " concern for me, which I can never ſufficiently " acknowledge. But you ſay, the dye is now " caſt, and I muſt now make the beſt I can of " what I lately thought was the worſt, that could " have happened to me. I thank GOD I am " more chearful than I expected, and comfort " myſelf as I can with this hope, that the pro- " vidence of GOD, to which I have ſubmitted " my own will in this matter, will graciouſly " aſſiſt me to diſcharge in ſome meaſure the " duty he hath called me to.

" I did not acquaint my good friend, who " wrote to you, with all that had paſſed, be- " cauſe it was intended to be a ſecret, which I " am ſure is ſafe in your hands. I only told " him, that his Majeſty did not intend as yet

" to

" to diſpoſe of this place; but when he did it,
" I was afraid it would be hard for me to
" eſcape.

" The King, I believe, has only acquainted
" the Queen with it, who, as ſhe came out of
" the cloſet on *Sunday* laſt, commanded me to
" wait upon her after dinner, which I did; and
" after ſhe had diſcourſed about another buſineſs
" (which was to deſire my opinion of a treatiſe
" ſent her in manuſcript out of *Holland*, tending
" to the reconciliation of our differences in *Eng-*
" *land)* ſhe told me, that the King had with
" great joy acquainted her with a ſecret concern-
" ing me, whereof ſhe was no leſs glad; uſing
" many gracious expreſſions, and confirming his
" Majeſty's promiſes concerning my wife.

" But I am ſenſible this is an intolerable letter,
" eſpecially concerning one's ſelf.

" I had almoſt forgot to mention Mr.
" VAUGHAN's[6] buſineſs. As ſoon as he brought
" your Ladyſhip's letter hither to me, I wrote
" immediately to *Whitehall*, and got the buſi-
" neſs ſtopt. The Biſhop of *St. David's* had
" written up for ſome miniſter of a great town,
" but a ſmall Living in that dioceſe, that it
" might be beſtowed on him, for his pains in
" that great town. The pretence is fair, but if
" the Miniſter is no better a man than the Bi-
" ſhop, I am ſure he is not worthy of it.

" I have been twice to wait upon my Lord
" *Nottingham* about it, but miſſed of him.
" When I have inquired farther into it, if the
" thing be fit to be done, I will do my beſt
" for Mr. VAUGHAN. And I beg of your Lady-
" ſhip

[6] Probably a relation of Lady RUSSEL, whoſe firſt huſband was Lord VAUGHAN, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Carbery*.

" ſhip to make no difficulty of commanding my
" poor ſervice upon any occaſion, for I am
" always truly glad of the opportunity.

" I cannot forbear to repeat my humble
" thanks for your great concernment for me in
" this affair.

" That GOD would multiply his beſt bleſſings
" upon your Ladyſhip and your children, and
" make them great bleſſings and comforts to
" you, is the daily prayer of,

" MADAM, your moſt obliged

" and moſt humble ſervant,

" J. T."

The Dean's remark to his Majeſty, that the *widow of an Archbiſhop would now be an odd figure in England*, was founded upon this fact, that only two, who had fill'd the See of *Canterbury*, had been married, CRANMER and PARKER. The former was indeed twice married, the firſt time before he was in orders, while he was only Fellow of *Jeſus-college* in *Cambridge*, his wife dying within a year in childbed [h]. He married his ſecond wife in *Germany*, while he was Embaſſador there in 1530. She was niece to OSIANDER, the famous Proteſtant Paſtor of *Nuremberg*; and was ſent for by him into *England* in 1534, two years after he was made Archbiſhop, where he kept her very privately till 1539; when upon the *ſix articles* being put in execution, ſhe was obliged to return to her relations in *Germany* [i]. In the time of King EDWARD VI, when the marriage of the Clergy was allow'd, he again brought

[h] STRYPE's memorials of Archbiſhop CRANMER, *B.* I. *Ch.* 1. *p.* 2.

[i] Ibid. *p.* 11. and 417, 418.

brought her forth, and lived openly with her, and had children by her, who ſurvived him, as ſhe likewiſe did, being alive towards the latter end of Archbiſhop PARKER's time, and enjoying for her ſubſiſtence an abbey in *Nottinghamſhire*, which HENRY VIII, upon the motion of Dr. BUTTS his phyſician, without Archbiſhop CRANMER's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs [k]. Archbiſhop PARKER likewiſe married MARGARET HARLESTONE in *June* 1547, in the 43d year of his age [l], in the reign of EDWARD VI; but ſhe died before him [m].

The reflection of the Dean in the ſame letter, upon Dr. THOMAS WATSON, Biſhop of *St. David's*, ſhews what ill opinion was even at that time entertained of that Prelate, whoſe enormities, in the article of ſimony, afterwards grew ſo public, as to ſubject him to a deprivation of his See. He had been educated in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow, and tutor there, the memory of his avarice and arts of raiſing money ſtill continuing in that college. His advancement to the Biſhopric of *St. David's* was in the reign of JAMES II, in *April* 1687. He owed it, according to Mr. WOOD [n], to the recommendation of HENRY JERMYN, created Lord *Dover* in *May* 1685; but it was believed, as Biſhop BURNET informs us [o], that he gave money for it; and that hiſtorian deſcribes him as one of the worſt men in all reſpects, whom he ever knew in holy orders, paſſionate, covetous, and falſe in the blackeſt inſtances, without any one virtue or good quality to

[k] Ibid. *p.* 418.
[l] STRYPE's Life of Archbiſhop PARKER, *p.* 23.
[m] Ibid. *p.* 511. [n] Ath. Oxon. *vol. II. col.* 1170.
[o] Hiſtory of his own time, *vol. II. p.* 226, 227.

to balance his many bad ones. The obnoxiouſneſs of his character expoſed him to many violent inſults from the common people, upon the abdication of King JAMES [p]; to whom he profeſſed for ſome time ſo much fidelity, as to pretend to ſcruple the oaths to the new government. During which time, on the 28th of *March* 1689, meeting with Sir JOHN RERESBY, governor of *York*, he aſked that gentleman, whether he thought, that he might ſafely take thoſe oaths, having hitherto ſtood out, and being now cited to appear before the houſe of Lords. Sir JOHN's anſwer was, that it was fitteſt for himſelf to be adviſed by his Lordſhip in ſuch a caſe; and that certainly his own conſcience could not but dictate to him what was right. But Sir JOHN found the Biſhop already reſolved, who accordingly went the next day and complied [q], tho' he continued ſtill attach'd to his old maſter King JAMES [r]. He was deprived in 1699 for ſimony by Archbiſhop TENNISON, whoſe ſentence was afterwards confirmed by a court of delegates, to whom the deprived Biſhop had appeal'd [s], as he did the year following to the houſe of Lords, where the affair was protracted, and his Biſhopric not diſpoſed of ſome years [t], till the end of *April* 1705, when it was given to Dr. GEORGE BULL [u], whoſe *Defenſio fidei Nicenæ*, publiſh'd in 1685, had made him famous over *Europe*, and whoſe *Judicium eccleſiæ catholicæ*, printed in 1694, and written againſt EPISCOPIUS, in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former book had been of the *Faith* declar'd at the firſt council of *Nice*, procured

[p] WOOD, *ubi ſupra.*
[q] Memoirs of Sir JOHN RERESBY, Bart. *p.* 339.
[r] BURNET, *p.* 227. [s] Id. ibid.
[t] Ibid. *p.* 250, 251. and 406. [u] Ibid.

procured him in 1700 the thanks of the general aſſembly of the Biſhops and Clergy of *France*.

The Queen having put into the Dean's hands the manuſcript treatiſe mentioned in his letter to Lady RUSSEL of the 25th of *October* 1690, to have been tranſmitted to her Majeſty from *Holland*, he conſidered it with the utmoſt attention, and as ſoon as his health and engagements would permit, wrote an anſwer to the letter, which the author of it had ſent to him. The author was the learned FREDERICK SPANHEIM, Profeſſor of divinity at *Leydon*, and brother to Baron EZEKIEL SPANHEIM, no leſs eminent for his profound knowledge in polite learning and antiquities, than for his embaſſies to ſeveral courts, and particularly to that of *England*. The Profeſſor's treatiſe may be ſeen in the ſecond volume of his works in the *Leydon* edition in 1701, in fol. under the title of *Judicium expetitium ſuper diſſidio Anglicano, & capitibus, quæ ad unionem ſeu comprehenſionem faciunt*. The Dean's letter to him upon the ſubject of it was dated the 6th of *February* $169\frac{0}{1}$; and in it he excuſes the delay of his anſwer on account of the ill ſtate of his health, which obliged him to retire into the country, and though better, was not yet fully re-eſtabliſhed. He obſerves, that he had read the Profeſſor's diſcourſe upon peace and union between the church of *England* and the Proteſtant diſſenters with great ſatisfaction, on account of the excellent judgment, and learning, ſingular knowledge of the diſcipline and rites of the antient church, and, what was ſuperior to all, the truly Chriſtian temper, which appeared through the whole. That there were perhaps ſome few things, and thoſe of no great moment, (except

the article of re-ordination) in which it would be a little difficult to find a temperament, by which the contending parties might be brought to an agreement. For that the common people of our church, as well as thoſe of the diſſenting congregations, had their ſuperſtitions and prejudices, to which it was right and proper to have ſome regard in the conceſſions to be made by our church, leſt the former being offended, might revolt from ours to that of *Rome*. That it would be tedious to enter into the detail now; but that there would be a much more fit place for diſcourſing upon it, when a nearer opportunity ſhould offer. "Dr. STILLINGFLEET, *adds* "*he*, now Biſhop of *Worceſter*, mentioned by "you in your letter, a perſon, of whom our "church deſervedly boaſts, is ſtill in the ſame "opinion with us. And there are very many "others, and thoſe the glories and ornaments of "our church, who ſeem to have ſtrong inclinations to peace and concord. I do not preſume "to rank myſelf in their number, being not at "all to be compar'd with ſuch great and excellent men; although you, Rev^d. Sir, out of "your humanity and extreme kindneſs to me, "aſcribe too much to my judgment in theſe "controverſies. One thing in my opinion is to "be deeply regretted, that there are many on "both ſides, of our church, as well as among "the Diſſenters, who know not the means nor "way of peace. I cannot therefore foreſee what "will at laſt be the iſſue of theſe pacific counſels. As affairs now ſtand in *England*, I think "nothing of this kind ſhould be attempted for "the preſent; but that we ought to wait till "the times grow more diſpoſed to peace; a

"period,

" period, which, if our brave King ſhall, thro' " the divine aſſiſtance, meet with the ſucceſs " wiſh'd for by all good men, I preſage is not " far diſtant. For what is to be deſpair'd of " under the auſpices of ſuch religious and pru- " dent Princes, as our King and Queen? For " this reaſon if you will attend to my opinion, " you will do right and wiſely to ſuſpend the " publication of your treatiſe till a more proba- " ble hope of ſucceſs ſhall appear." The Dean then refers him to the Earl of *Portland*, as a ſincere friend and promoter of the ſcheme of pacification, who would more amply explain theſe things, and the whole ſtate of affairs in *England:* And concludes with deſiring his excuſe for the negligence of his *Latin* ſtyle, which it was not agreeable to him to return to the uſe of, after a diſcontinuance of above thirty years, almoſt his whole life having been ſpent in preaching, and all other branches of the paſtoral duty. But this excuſe was unneceſſary in a letter, which the learned reader will find written with the utmoſt purity and elegance [w].

" Viro admodum Domino FREDERICO SPAN- " HEMIO, in academiâ Lugd. Batav. S. Theol. " Profeſſori digniſſimo.

" QUOD literis tuis, vir clariſſime, ſanè " quam humaniſſimis non citiùs reſcripſe- " rim, cauſa fuit adverſa valetudo; cui ut me- " derer, & animum recrearem atque refierem, " rus ire neceſſe mihi fuit: nunc autem, gratia " Dei, commodiore quidem utor valetudine, at " nondum etiam benè confirmatâ.

" Tractatum

[w] From the original draught in his own hand in his Common-place-book.

" Tractatum de pace & unione diſſentientium " apud nos Proteſtantium cum eccleſiâ Anglicanâ tuum, quem mecum ſereniſſima Regina " communicavit, avidè perlegi & ſummâ cum " delectatione. In eo judicium acre idemque " ſubactum, eruditionem eximiam, in antiquioris eccleſiæ diſciplinâ ritibuſque peritiam ſingularem, &, quod præcipuum eſt, mentem " & animum vere Chriſtianum, ubique deprehendi. Pauca fortaſſe ſunt, & eadem haud " ita magni momenti (articulum de ſacris ordinibus iterandis excipio) in quibus paulo difficilius erit invenire temperamentum, cujus ope " partes inter ſe litigantes aliquando concordare " poſſint. Eccleſiæ enim noſtræ plebs, non " ſecus ac diſſentientium cætuum, ſuas etiam " habet ſuperſtitiones & opiniones præjudicatas; " cujus ut ratio habeatur in rebus ab eccleſiâ " noſtrâ concedendis jus & æquum eſt, ne offenſa deficiat a nobis ad eccleſiam Romanam. " Longum adeo foret ea nunc ſingillatim perſequi; multo commodior erit de his differendi " locus, cum occaſio propior advenerit.

" STILLINGFLETIUS ille noſter, nunc eccleſiæ " Vigornienſis epiſcopus, cujus in tuis ad me " literis mentionem facis, de quo eccleſia noſtra " merito gloriatur, is etiam nunc in eadem, quâ " nos, ſententiâ perſtat. Porrò ſunt alii permulti, & hi eccleſiæ noſtræ decora & ornamenta, in quibus magna videtur eſſe animorum " inclinatio ad pacem & concordiam. In horum " me numerum referre mihi non aſſumo, tantis " & tam præclaris viris neutiquam comparandus; tametſi tu, vir reverende, pro humanitate tuâ & ſummâ erga me benevolentiâ nimio " plus tribuis judicio meo de his controverſiis.

" Unum

" num magnoperè dolendum cenſeo, multos
" eſſe ex utraque parte, tum eccleſiæ noſtræ,
" tum diſſentientium, qui rationem & viam pa-
" cis non nôrunt. Quem igitur exitum hæc
" conſilia pacis tandem habitura ſint divinare
" nequeo. Ut nunc eſt in Angliâ, nihil hujuſ-
" modi impræſentiarum tentandum arbitror, ſed
" expectandum donec tempora magis pacata fue-
" rint; quæ, ſi fortiſſimo Regi, juvante Deo,
" omnia proſperè & ex bonorum omnium ſen-
" tentiâ ceciderint, non procul abeſſe auguror.
" Quid enim deſperandum ſub auſpiciis religio-
" ſiſſimorum & prudentiſſimorum principum;
" Regis, dico, noſtri & Reginæ? Quapropter
" ſi me audis, vir eximie, rectè ſapienterque fe-
" ceris, ſi tractatum tuum in vulgus edere di-
" ſtuleris, quoad certior ſpes ſecundi ſucceſſûs
" affulſerit.

" Illuſtriſſimus Comes Portlandius, conſilii
" hujus pacifici ex animo fautor & adjutor, hæc
" omnia & univerſum rerum noſtrarum ſtatum
" fuſiùs exponet; cui ſi ſtudium meum & ob-
" ſequium confirmare volueris, gratiſſimum mihi
" feceris.

" Condonabis mihi, ſpero, negligentiam pu-
" rioris Latinitatis, ad quam invitus admodum
" redeo poſt triginta plus annorum deſuetudi-
" nem, quoniam in concionibus habendis, & in
" omni paſtorale munere obeundo ætatem penè
" conſumſi. Veniam igitur pro hac re a candore
" tuo petit is, quem ubique cognoſces,

" Vir clariſſime,

" Reverentiæ tuæ addictiſſimum
" atque omni officiorum genere
" & obſequio devinctiſſimum,

Febr. 6. 169$\frac{0}{1}$. " Jo. Tillotson.

" Amicum tuum, cui literas ad me dediſti,
" non vidi ex quo mihi eas reddidit. Ho-
" minem inveſtigabo, cum ad aulam redi-
" ero, an libens juvabo quâ ratione cunque
" potero."

A few days after this letter the Dean wrote from *Edmonton* another, on the 16th of that month, to Mr. NELSON, then at *Florence*, in anſwer to two lately received from him. In that letter, after having mention'd ſome affair, in which his friendſhip for that gentleman had engaged him to make uſe of his intereſt with the King, he takes notice of the report of the death of the Pope, ALEXANDER VIII, of a *Venetian* family, of the name of OTTOBONI, who had ſat in the papal chair almoſt a year and a half. " If the report be true, *ſays he*, we are no " otherwiſe concern'd in the loſs of him, than " of any other foreign Prince, who did little or " no good whilſt he liv'd. We could ſpare " even the King of *France*, if GOD thought fit " to diſpoſe of him the ſame way." He obſerves likewiſe, that the preparations then making both by ſea and land, were the greateſt that *England* ever ſaw, and in the greateſt forwardneſs; and that Lord PRESTON had *laid open all*; *which*, ſays he, *will affect a great many*. This Lord, who was ſon of Sir GEORGE GRAHAM of *Netherby* in *Cumberland*, Bart. had been educated at *Chriſt-church* in *Oxford*, where he was created Maſter of arts on the 27th of *March* 1667 [x]. He was created Viſcount PRESTON in *Scotland* by King CHARLES II, who ſent him in the beginning of the year 1682, Envoy extraordinary to the court

[x] WOOD. Faſt. Oxon. *Vol.* II. *col.* 167.

court of *France*, being attended thither by Mr. WAKE, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as Chaplain to him. While his Lordſhip reſided at *Paris* he procured the ſuppreſſion of the Abbot PRIMI's *Hiſtory of the Dutch war*, printed there in 1682, and containing an account of the ſecret treaty between *France* and *England*, negotiated by HENRIETTA Ducheſs of *Orleans* with her brother King CHARLES, at *Dover*, in *May* 1669 [y]. Upon his return from thence in the beginning of JAMES II's reign, he was received into a high degree of favour and confidence of that King, by whom he was made Secretary of State upon the removal of the Earl of *Sunderland*, on the 28th of *October* 1688, and deſign'd to be advanced to an *Engliſh* Peerage, with the title of Viſcount PRESTON in *Amounderneſs* in *Lancaſhire*; but his patent was not paſs'd the Great Seal before the abdication of that King. Being engaged afterwards in a plot with the Earl of *Clarendon*, Dr. TURNER Biſhop of *Ely*, and others, in favour of King JAMES, he was ſeized on the 30th of *December* 1690 going to *France* with Mr. JOHN ASHTON and Mr. ELLIOT; and on the 17th of *January* tried at the *Old Baily*, and condemn'd for high-treaſon; but after acting a very weak and irreſolute part, redeemed his life by his diſcoveries; while his companion Mr. ASHTON ſubmitted to death with great firmneſs and decency. His Lordſhip was a man of excellent parts and learning; and gave the public in 1695, as the fruits of his retirement, a tranſlation of BOETIUS's diſcourſe *of the conſolation of philoſophy*, illuſtrated with notes, and a life of the author, who was diſtinguiſh'd by

[y] BURNET, *vol.* I. *p.* 301.

being one of the laſt, who made any figure in literature or genius in *Italy*, then ſinking into barbariſm through the irruption of the northern nations.

In the ſame letter the Dean touches upon the ſeduction of Lady THEOPHILA NELSON and her daughter from the Proteſtant religion, and prays, that GOD would *preſerve* Mr. NELSON and her ſon, Sir BERKLEY LUCY, *in the truth*; "and "ſo, *adds he*, I do for thoſe, that are fallen "from it, that GOD would grant them repent-"ance to the acknowledgement of it. I pity "poor Miſs, who is more innocently ſeduc'd; "but my Lady much more, conſidering the de-"gree of her underſtanding, and the difference "of the two religions."

About this time the Dean was ſollicitous to procure by his intereſt at court ſome reward for a Divine of great merit and learning, Mr. JOHN HARTCLIFFE [z], B. D. and Fellow of *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, who had juſt publiſhed in 8vo at *London*, an excellent ſyſtem of Ethics, under the title of *A treatiſe of moral and intellectual virtues; wherein their nature is fully explain'd, and their uſefulneſs prov'd, as being the beſt rules of Life, and the cauſes of their decay are inquired into; concluding with ſuch arguments, as tend to revive the practice of them. With a preface ſhewing the vanity and deceitfulneſs of vice.* This author in his *preface* having premis'd a remark, that the world has ever had its viciſſitudes and periods of virtue and wickedneſs, and that all nations have advanced themſelves to their power and grandeur by ſobriety, wiſdom, and a tender

[z] MS. letter of Lady RUSSEL to Dr. FITZ-WILLIAMS, *Febr.* 169$\frac{0}{1}$.

tender regard of religion; expreſſes his hopes, that "upon the late wonderful *revolution* the "*Engliſh* nation might recover its antient vir- "tues, that had been too long under the op- "preſſion of debauchery, which hath been an "evil of ſo great malignity, as to threaten ruin "to the very conſtitution of the government. "Therefore, *adds he*, the providence of GOD "hath ſent us a Prince for our deliverer, whoſe "piety is ſet off with the whole train of moral "virtues; whoſe temperance is ſo great and im- "pregnable amidſt all thoſe allurements, with "which the palaces of Kings are apt to meet "even the moſt reſolved minds, that at the "ſame time he doth both teach and upbraid "the court." Mr. HARTCLIFFE, who was born about the year 1650 at *Harding* near *Henley* in *Oxfordſhire*, had been educated at *Eton-School*; and thence remov'd to be a Servitor in *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford* in 1666, and the year following was ſcholar of *Edmund-Hall*, where he continued a year, and was then choſen a ſcholar of *King's-College Cambridge*, of which he was afterwards Fellow, and 1681 Maſter of Merchant-Taylors ſchool in *London*. After the revolution King WILLIAM appointed him by *mandamus* Maſter of *King's College*; the Fellows of which oppoſing the admiſſion of him, his Majeſty left them to their free choice; and Mr. HARTCLIFFE was, by the recommendation of his friend Dean TILLOTSON, preferr'd to the Canonry of *Windſor*.

The King's nomination of the Dean to the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury* had been agreed between them, to be poſtponed till after the breaking up of the ſeſſion of Parliament, which was prorogued on the 5th of *January* 169$\frac{6}{7}$;

when it was thought proper to defer it ſtill longer, on account of his Majeſty's voyage to *Holland*, in which he embark'd on the 16th of that month, and arrived there after a very dangerous paſſage, to attend the Congreſs at the *Hague* of all the confederate Princes and States for concerting meaſures, in order to preſerve the liberties of *Europe* againſt *France*. Upon the concluſion of that Congreſs, the King went to the army near *Bruſſels*; and upon the ſurrender of *Mons* on the 1ſt of *April* to LEWIS XIV, who had attended that ſiege in perſon, his Majeſty came back to *England*, arriving at *Whitehall* on the 13th of that month, but continued there but a ſhort time, returning on the 1ſt of *May* to the campaign in *Flanders*.

While his Majeſty ſtaid in *England*, he was reſolved to fill the vacant Sees, from which he had been hitherto diverted by the Dean's advice, who was reproached for it by the King at his return from *Flanders*, and was now oblig'd himſelf to conſent to his Majeſty's nomination of him to the Archbiſhopric in council on the 23d of *April* 1691. Immediately after this public declaration he went to the depriv'd Archbiſhop ſtill at *Lambeth*, and ſent in his name by ſeveral ſervants, and ſtay'd a long time for an anſwer, but was forc'd to return without receiving any; an incivility, which he had not at all deſerved of his predeceſſor, whoſe reputation, integrity, and wiſdom, when aſpers'd by others, he had often vindicated to the King [a].

The *conge d'eſlire* being granted on the 1ſt of *May*, he was elected on the 16th, confirm'd on the 28th, and having retired to his houſe on *Saturday*

[a] Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

Saturday the 30th, which he ſpent in faſting and prayer in the manner repreſented from his own account in ſhort-hand at the end of his *works*, was conſecrated the day following being *Whit-ſunday* in the church of *St. Mary-le-Bow* by Dr. PETER MEW Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, Dr. GILBERT BURNET Biſhop of *Sarum*, Dr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. GILBERT IRONSIDE Biſhop of *Briſtol*, and Dr. JOHN HOUGH Biſhop of *Oxford*, in the preſence of HENRY Duke of *Norfolk*, THOMAS Marquiſs of *Carmarthen* Lord-Preſident of the Council, WILLIAM Earl of *Devonſhire*, CHARLES Earl of *Dorſet*, CHARLES Earl of *Macclesfield*, THOMAS Earl of *Falconberg*, ROBERT Lord LUCAS, and divers other perſons of rank [b], who attended the ſolemnity, to expreſs the great eſteem and reſpect, which they had for his Grace, and the ſatisfaction, which they had in his promotion. The conſecration ſermon was preach'd on *John* xxi. 17. by Mr. RALPH BARKER, afterwards his Chaplain, whom his Grace had deſired to perform that office, with an abſolute reſtriction, that nothing ſhould be ſaid in it with relation to himſelf; and in the letter, which he wrote to him on that occaſion on the 17th of *April*, he expreſſed a ſtrong ſenſe of the weight of what he had long dreaded, and was now fallen upon him.

Four days after his conſecration, *June* 4th, he was ſworn of the Privy Council, and on the 11th of *July* had a reſtitution of the temporalities of his See. The Queen likewiſe granted him all the profits of it from the *Michaelmas* pre-

[b] Gazette, *p.* 2686. and LE NEVE, *p.* 228.

ceding, which amounted to above 2500 *l.* He continued to live at the Deanry of *St. Paul's* till the latter end of the year 1691, and in the mean time built a large apartment at *Lambeth* houſe for his wife, repaired the whole, altered the windows and lights of the Archbiſhop's lodgings, wainſcoted many rooms, and made other improvements there [c]. Which being finiſhed, he removed thither, as appears from a memorandum in his own hand-writing, on the 26th of *November* 1691.

As he had now ſubmitted, after a long and unaffected reſiſtance, to the acceptance of this great ſtation, he form'd at the ſame time two reſolutions, from which he never departed. The one was, that whenever the ſtate of their Majeſties affairs was ſuch, that he could hope to be diſmiſſed from that poſt, he would become a moſt important ſuiter to be delivered from it. The other was, that if the infirmities of age ſhould ſo far overtake him, that he could not go through the fatigue and labour of it, then he would humbly offer it up to their Majeſties; and he charg'd ſome of his moſt particular friends to uſe all freedom with him, if they ſhould obſerve it, before it was perceived by himſelf [d].

His promotion was attended with the uſual compliments of congratulation, out of reſpect either to himſelf or to his ſtation; among which he received a *Latin* letter from the Warden and Fellows of *All-Soul's-college* in *Oxford*, preſented to him by Dr. THOMAS MILLINGTON, afterwards knighted by King WILLIAM, to whom he

[c] Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.
[d] BURNET's funeral ſermon, *p.* 24.

he was phyſician, and Dr. ADAMS, on the 5th of *June* 1691. To which he return'd an anſwer, dated at *Edmonton*, in which he return'd his acknowledgments for their expreſſions of goodwill, though he could not accept of the high compliments, with which they had almoſt oppreſs'd him; and promiſed for himſelf, that he would always ſhew himſelf an encourager and patron of good learning, and upon all occaſions a zealous friend to their college [e].

" Accepi literas veſtras humaniſſimas, in qui-
" bus benevolentiam perſpicio & gratus agnoſco;
" laudes verò immenſas, quibus me immeritò
" cumulatis & penè obruitis, agnoſcere non poſ-
" ſum. Hoc vobis de meipſo polliceri auſim,
" me ſemper fore ingenuæ literaturæ & bonarum
" artium fautorem & præſidium. Collegii veſtri
" dignitatem & privilegia, quotieſcunque occaſio
" obvenerit, pro virili parte defendam & pro-
" tegam; veſtrum omnium patrocinium ſuſci-
" pio, voſque libens ſemper juvabo qua ratione
" cunque potero. Valete, viri clariſſimi."

Dabam Edmonton. 1691.

He returned likewiſe the following anſwer to Lady COVENTRY [f].

" *June* 11, 1691.

" Honoured Madam,

" THE perpetual hurry, in which I have
" been ever ſince I received the favour of
" your Ladyſhip's very kind letter, would not
" till

[e] From the original draught in his MS. volume abovementioned. [f] From his draught in ſhort-hand.

" till now allow me time to make an acknow-
" ledgment of it, as I ought to have done.
" But I hope your goodneſs will excuſe what I
" could not help. It is no ſmall comfort to me,
" Madam, to have the good wiſhes of ſo wor-
" thy a perſon, whom I ſo juſtly eſteem. But
" after all I cannot but be ſenſible of the burden
" I ſtand under, and which I was ſo very un-
" willing ſhould have been laid upon me. And
" I do ſtill ſhrink at the thoughts of it. But I
" hope that GOD, whoſe providence hath caſt it
" upon me, will ſupport me under it, who de-
" pend only on his grace and help. I heartily
" pray for your Ladyſhip's life and health, that
" you may ſtill continue to do more good, and
" to increaſe the reward of well-doing, which is
" laid up for you in a better world. I am,
" Madam, with great reſpect,

" Your Ladyſhip's moſt faithful
" and humble ſervant,

" JO. CANT."

The Primate of *Ireland*, Dr. MICHAEL BOYLE, who died in 1702 at the age of ninety-three, after filling the poſt of Lord-Chancellor of that kingdom, as well as the higheſt ſtation in the church there, having likewiſe ſent two letters to our Archbiſhop, he wrote the following anſwer [g].

June 11, 1691.

" My Lord,

" EVER ſince I received your Grace's very
" kind and welcome letter, I have been in
" ſo continual a hurry, that I have not had time
" to

[g] From his own draught in ſhort-hand.

" to acknowledge the favour of it, as I ought " to have done. But I hope your Grace will ex- " cuſe what I could not well help. I am, my " Lord, as I have great reaſon, very ſenſible how " unable [I am] to ſuſtain the weight of that " great charge, which their Majeſties have laid " upon me, not only without my deſire, but " very much againſt my inclination. But I hope " that GOD, who has called me to this ſtation, " and upon whoſe grace and help I do humbly " depend, will be pleaſed to aſſiſt and enable " me in ſome meaſure to a faithful diſcharge; " and I hope I ſhall have the benefit of your " Grace's prayers to this purpoſe.

" As to your former letter dated three days " before, concerning a Coadjutor for the Bi- " ſhopric of *Down*, I never heard the leaſt ſyl- " lable of it: And if any ſuch were deſign'd, I " would oppoſe it to my power, as an example " of very ill conſequence. I think it much fitter " to have the Biſhopric made void, for the Bi- " ſhop's ſcandalous neglect of his charge.

" If there be any thing, wherein I may be " uſeful to your Grace, or to the church, over " which you preſide, I ſhall always be ready, " upon the leaſt advice or intimation from your " Grace, to do all good offices to both.

" I commit your Grace to GOD's holy pro- " tection and comfort, and ever remain,

" May it pleaſe your Grace,

" Your Grace's truly affectionate brother

" and moſt faithful ſervant,

" JO. CANT.

" *P. S.*

" *P. S.* Will your Grace give me leave to " trouble you with a tender of my humble ſer- " vice to your worthy ſon, my Lord BLES- " SINGTON?"

The Biſhop of *Down* mentioned in this letter was Dr. THOMAS HACKET, to whom the Archbiſhop had been near thirty years before Curate at *Cheſhunt*, and who had enjoyed that Biſhopric ever ſince the year 1672, but with ſo little regard to his paſtoral office, that he had ſpent moſt of that time in *England*; on which account he was ſuſpended on the 13th of *March* 169$\frac{3}{4}$, and on the 21ſt of the ſame month depriv'd for ſimony in conferring eccleſiaſtical benefices, and other grievous enormities committed in the exerciſe of his juriſdiction [h].

The congratulations to the new Archbiſhop were ſoon followed by a very oppoſite treatment from the Nonjuring party, the greateſt part of whom, from the moment of his acceptance of the Archbiſhopric, purſued him with an unrelenting rage, which laſted during his life, and was by no means appeas'd after his death. Before he was conſecrated to the See, Mr. DODWELL, who was depriv'd of the *Camdenian* lecture of hiſtory in *Oxford* in *November* 1691, wrote to him a letter, dated the 12th of *May*, to diſſuade him from being " the aggreſſor, *ſays he* [i], in " the new deſign'd ſchiſm, in erecting another " altar againſt the hitherto acknowledg'd altar " of your depriv'd fathers and brethren. If " their

[h] Sir JAMES WARE's works, *vol.* I. *p.* 213. *Edit.* Dublin. *fol.*

[i] Appendix to the life of Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, *p.* viii. and life of Mr. HENRY DODWELL, by FRANCIS BROKESBY, B. D. *p.* 220.

" their places be not vacant, the new conſecra-
" tion muſt, by the nature of the *ſpiritual*
" *monarchy*, be null, and invalid, and ſchiſma-
" tical." This very learned, but equally obſcure and prejudic'd writer affirms likewiſe, that ſuch, as were concern'd in this practice, cut themſelves off from the communion, of which they were before members; as did all others, who join'd with them; which he endeavours to illuſtrate by inſtances in the firſt ages of the church, and particularly that of ATHANASIUS; alledging that thoſe, who would be Biſhops in the room of the depriv'd, muſt ſeek for new principles; and that if they ſhould pretend lay-authority as ſufficient, they would overthrow the being of a church as a ſociety, and put it in the power of perſecuting princes to ruin it.

This letter of Mr. DODWELL was written with much greater mildneſs and moderation, than another, which was ſent to the Archbiſhop's Lady for him, and a copy of it to the Counteſs of *Derby* for the Queen, and publiſhed in print ſoon after. It called upon him to reconcile his actings ſince the revolution with the principles either of natural or revealed religion, or thoſe of his own letter to Lord RUSSEL, which was reprinted upon this occaſion. The writer of it is ſaid by Dr. HICKES [k], to be a perſon of *great candour* and *judgment*, and once *a great admirer* of the Archbiſhop; tho' he was afterwards ſo much prejudic'd againſt him, that after his Grace's death he declar'd to Dr. HICKES, that he thought him an *atheiſt*, *as much as a man could be*, *tho' the graveſt certainly*, ſaid he, *that ever was*. Dr. FRANCIS LEE, the compiler of Mr.

[k] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 40.

Mr. KETTLEWELL's *life* from the collections of Dr. HICKES and Mr. NELSON, who has reprinted this letter in that book [l], thinks it to have been written by one of Mr. KETTLEWELL's friends; and the late editor of it, in a collection of pamphlets form'd chiefly from thoſe of Lord SOMMERS, has prefix'd to it the name of CHARLEWOOD LAWTON, Eſq; as well as to ſeveral other political pieces in that collection. But whoever the writer was, he has intermix'd the ſevereſt expoſtulations with the Archbiſhop, and ſuggeſtions againſt his ſincerity, for his *apoſtacy*, as he calls it, from what he had formerly preach'd and written, with frequent compliments to his *knowledge, judgment, largeneſs of ſpirit, moderation, and many other good qualities*, "that have, *ſays he*, "ſignaliz'd your name, and once made you "one of the greateſt ornaments of the Chriſtian "church, one of the greateſt exemplars of ſound "morality, and all that philoſophers call virtue."

But this and other libels were ſo far from exaſperating his Grace to revenge againſt the perſons concerned in diſperſing them, that when ſome of them were ſeiz'd on that account, he uſed all his intereſt with the government to cover them from puniſhment. This may be ſeen in the following letter to Lady RUSSEL [m].

June 23. 1691.

"Honour'd Madam,

"I Received your Ladyſhip's letter, together "with that to Mr. FOX, which I ſhall re- "turn to him on *Wedneſday* morning, when I "have deſired Mr. KEMP to ſend him to me.

"I

[l] *P.* 233. *& ſeqq.*

[m] From his draught in ſhort-hand.

" I intreat you to give my very humble " ſervice to my Lord of *Bedford*, and to let his " Lordſhip know how far I have been con- " cern'd in this affair. I had notice firſt from " Mr. Attorney-General and Mr. Sollicitor, and " then from my Lord , that ſeveral " perſons, upon the account of publiſhing and " diſperſing ſeveral libels againſt me, were ſe- " cured, in order to proſecution. Upon which " I went to wait upon them ſeverally, and " earneſtly deſired of them, that no body might " be puniſhed upon my account. That this " was not the firſt time I had experience of this " kind of malice, which, how unpleaſant ſoever " to me, I thought it the wiſeſt way to neglect, " and the beſt to forgive it. None of them " ſaid any thing to me of my Lord RUSSEL, " nor did it ever come into my thought to " hinder any proſecution upon his account, " whoſe reputation I can truly ſay, is much " dearer to me than mine own; and I was " much more troubled at the barbarous uſage " done to his memory; and eſpecially ſince " they have aggravated it by diſperſing more " copies; and, as I find by the letter to Mr. " FOX, are ſupported in their inſolence by a " ſtrong combination, I cannot but think it " very fit for my Lord *Bedford* to bring them " to condign puniſhment.

" Twice laſt week I had my pen in my hand " to have provok'd you to a letter; and that I " might once in my life have been before-hand " with you in this way of kindneſs. I was both " times hindered by the breaking in of company " upon me. The errand of it would have been " to have told you, that whether it be from

" ſtupidity, or from a preſent aſtoniſhment at " the danger of my condition, or from ſome " other cauſe, I find, that I bear the burden I " dreaded ſo much, a good deal better than I " could have hoped. DAVID's acknowledgment " to GOD runs in my mind, * *Who am I, O* " LORD GOD, *or what is my houſe, that thou* " *haſt brought me hitherto? and haſt regarded me* " *according to the eſtate of a man of high degree,* " *O* LORD GOD. I hope, that the ſame pro- " vidence of GOD, which hath over-ruled me " in this thing, will ſome way or other turn it " to good.

" The Queen's extraordinary favour to me, " to a degree much beyond my expectation, " is no ſmall ſupport to me; and I flatter my- " ſelf with hopes, that my friends will continue " their kindneſs to me; eſpecially that the beſt " friend I ever had, will not be the leſs ſo to " me now that I need friends moſt.

" I pray to GOD continually to preſerve you " and yours, and particularly at this time, to " give my Lady CAVENDISH a happy meeting " with her Lord, and to grant them both a " long and happy life together. I am, Madam,

" Your moſt faithful and humble ſervant,

" JO. CANT."

Soon after the date of this letter the Archbiſhop wrote the following anſwer [n] to two, which he had received from Mr. NELSON; one from *Florence* dated *May* 3. 1691, the other from *Venice* of *May* 25. 1691.

" Since

* 1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17.

[n] From his draught in ſhort-hand.

" SINCE I laſt wrote to my dear friend, I " have received from him two letters, one " from *Florence* dated *May* 3d, the other from " *Venice*, *May* 25, 1691.

" In anſwer to the firſt, I ſent Sir B. LUCY's " letter to my Lady BERKLEY, and have ſeen " my Lord ſince; but he ſaid nothing to it, nor " did I expect he would, ſince there was nothing " in it, but what to me ſeemed fit and rea- " ſonable.

" My ſon [o] hath no place at court, nor did I " ever mention him to the King, but only to " beg leave of his Majeſty for him to attend " upon him into *Holland*, where he met with " great civilities both from my Lord [p] and Lady " DURSLEY. I never aſk any thing of the " King, unleſs upon the account of charity for " perſons in diſtreſs, and whom he had reaſon " to conſider; as the poor *French* and *Iriſh* Pro- " teſtants; or for ſome poor widows, whoſe " huſbands have died in his ſervice, and for " whom no body elſe will ſpeak; or elſe to do " ſome good office for a friend, which coſts the " King nothing; and this but very rarely. And " indeed I have no need to aſk any thing of " him, who hath done for me what I was ſo " far from deſiring, that I did for paſt a year " and a half decline it with all my might. And " yet have I no reaſon to doubt, but that upon " the leaſt intimation of my deſire he would " willingly give my ſon any place, that is fit " for

[o] In-law, JAMES CHADWICKE, Eſq;

[p] CHARLES Lord DURSLEY, who was called up to the Houſe of Peers *July* 11, 1689, by the title of Baron *Berkley* of *Berkley*, and the ſame year ſent Envoy-extraordinary to *Holland*.

" for him. But as well as I love my ſon, I can
" hardly bring myſelf to aſk any thing. I had
" much rather the King would prevent me; or
" if he do not, I believe the Queen will. And
" I ſhould not be a little pleaſed to have him
" one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, for
" which he is much fitter than for any other
" place that I know. And I am the more de-
" ſirous to have ſomething done for him, not
" only for the ſake of my grand-children, but
" becauſe he is ſo very kind to us, and conſiders
" ſo well what becomes him and me, that tho'
" he is ſtill willing to live with me, he will not
" only take no place from me, but has not ſo
" much as ſpoken to me for any perſon whatſo-
" ever; nor will he ever intermeddle either in
" the ordering of my family, or in any of my
" affairs as Archbiſhop; ſo that the ——

" You ſee with what freedom I write to my
" friend, juſt as if I were talking with him.

" To your letter of *May* 25th, I know not
" what to ſay, but that love is blind, and yet
" thinks it ſees that in a friend, which the friend
" cannot find in himſelf. I conſider likewiſe,
" that this comes from one, who hath lived a
" great while in a climate, to which civility is
" natural, and where it reigns in perfection.

" I am very ſenſible, that I come into a diffi-
" cult place in a very difficult time; and I
" ſhrink at the thought of the burden I ſtand
" under. And yet if I could but hope to be
" able to do any conſiderable good to this miſe-
" rably diſtracted and divided church and na-
" tion, I ſhould eſteem it a full recompence for
" all the trouble I foreſee I muſt undergo. And
" without this, by what I have already found,

" I can tell you, that nothing in this world can " make amends for the perpetual hurry and un- " eaſineſs I have been in for theſe ſix weeks laſt " paſt.

" I have heretofore had plentiful experience " of the perſecution of railing; which is by no " means pleaſant, but is very tolerable in com- " pariſon of the perſecution of flattery. GOD " and time can only tell what a man will prove " in any condition. But I hope I cannot ſo far " miſtake myſelf, as not to be able to aſſure " you, that no change of fortune can alter my " mind towards you. The ſtation, in which I " am now plac'd, is much more likely to make " me weary of my life than of my friends.

" Since this calamity befel me, I have not yet " had time to deliver Sir BERKLEY's letter to " his ſiſter; which I intend to do at my firſt " leiſure. I was loth to viſit her at Mr. KNOX's; " and it is leſs fit now. I think to ſend for " her over to Mr. BEALE's, and there to talk " with her.

" My wife and my ſon deſire to have their " very humble ſervices preſented to yourſelf and " my Lady, to whom, and Sir B. L. I intreat " you to tender mine.

" I am glad, that we are like to ſee you " ſooner than you thought. I pray GOD to " preſerve you all, and bring you ſafe to your " friends; amongſt whom I hope you will al- " ways reckon,

" Dear Sir,

" Your faithful friend and ſervant,

" JO. CANT.

" *P. S.*

P. S. " You may think, Sir, by this letter, " that time lies upon my hands; but it is you, " that lie ſo near my heart."

The Archbiſhop's friendſhip for Dr. SHARP, his ſucceſſor in the Deanry of *Canterbury*, would not let him reſt, till he had form'd an expedient for removing the King's diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt that Dean upon this occaſion. His Majeſty had been pleaſed to mention Dr. SHARP as a proper perſon to ſucceed in ſome of the Biſhoprics vacated by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops. Two or three were accordingly propoſed to him. *Norwich* in particular was preſs'd by Dr. TILLOTSON, as the place, which he thought would be moſt acceptable. But Dr. SHARP abſolutely declin'd to accept of any of them; not out of any ſcruple of conſcience, for he could not, under ſuch a ſcruple, have either made a return to the Conge d'eſlire for the election of Dr. TILLOTSON to *Canterbury*, which he did, as Dean thereof; nor could he have ſuffered himſelf to have been conſecrated by Dr. TILLOTSON, as he was ſoon after; but out of a particular friendſhip and eſteem, which he had for the perſons deprived. This however diſpleaſed the King, and Dr. SHARP ſeemed to be no longer thought of. While he was in this ſituation, Dr. TILLOTSON came to his houſe on *Friday* the 24th of *April* 1691, the day after his own nomination to the Archbiſhopric, and told him, that ſince he had ſo obſtinately refuſed taking any of the vacant Biſhoprics, he had thought of a method to bring him off with the King; which was, that he ſhould promiſe to accept the Archbiſhopric of *York*, when it fell,

as Dr. TENNISON ſhould take *Lincoln*. He told him at the ſame time, how all the vacant Biſhoprics were deſign'd to be diſpos'd of; obſerving, that he had thought of this ſcheme, as he came from *Whitehall* to his houſe; and directing him to go and acquaint the Earl of *Nottingham* with it; and, if his Lordſhip approved of it, he would himſelf propoſe it to the King on the *Monday* following. Accordingly on that day he acquainted his Majeſty with what had paſs'd between Dr. SHARP and himſelf, and fixed the affair. In conſequence of which on the next council-day in the middle of the ſame week, the King declared there, who ſhould fill the vacant Sees, and who ſhould ſucceed into *York* and *Lincoln*, when they ſhould fall; and Archbiſhop LAMPLUGH dying on the 5th of *May*, Dr. SHARP was conſecrated to the See of *York* on the 5th of *July* following [q].

Another of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON's friends, whom he was deſirous to promote, was Dr. THOMAS BURNET, author of the *Theory of the earth*, who had been his pupil at *Clare-hall* in *Cambridge*. He was born at *Croft* in *Yorkſhire*, and his firſt education was at the free ſchool of *North Alverton* in that county, under Mr. THOMAS SMELT, who uſed to propoſe him as an example to the reſt of his ſcholars [r]. Thence he was remov'd to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted a penſioner under the tuition of Mr. TILLOTSON, on the 26th of *June* 1651; but remov'd to *Chriſt's College* in 1654, upon Dr. CUDWORTH's being made Maſter of that college, and in 1657 became Fellow of it, and in 1661 ſenior Proctor

[q] Letter of the Rev[d]. Mr. Archdeacon SHARP, *Nov.* 7th 1751.

[r] Life of Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, *p.* 13.

of the univerſity. He was governor to CHARLES Duke of *Bolton*, and to JAMES Earl of *Oſſory*, afterwards Duke of *Ormonde*, and grandſon to JAMES the firſt Duke of *Ormonde*, and by the intereſt of that Duke was choſen Maſter of the *Charter-houſe* in 1685, though he had been excepted to by thoſe Biſhops, who were of the number of electors, on account of his wearing a lay-habit; his Grace being ſatisfied, that he had the more eſſential qualifications of manners and converſation in all reſpects ſuitable to his clerical character. In this poſt he oppoſed the admiſſion of ANDREW POPHAM, a *Roman* catholic, as a penſioner of the houſe, though inforced by a letter from King JAMES II, dated *December* 26. 1686, diſpenſing with the ſtatutes of it; and this oppoſition being vigorouſly ſupported by the other governors, except the Lord-chancellor JEFFERYS, that King deſiſted from purſuing the affair. After the revolution, Dr. BURNET, whoſe *Telluris theoria ſacra*, printed at *London* in 1681 in 4to, had raiſed him a great reputation in the learned world, was in a ſituation to have improv'd his intereſt for his advancement, if his own temper would have ſuffer'd him. Nor could he have fail'd of this, when he was brought to court by the Archbiſhop, ſucceeding his Grace as Clerk of the cloſet to King WILLIAM, whoſe character he has drawn with great ſtrength and elegance in the dedication of his *Archæologiæ philoſophicæ*, printed at *London* 1692 in 4to, if the offence taken from his manner of treating the ſtory of the fall, and his imaginary dialogue between *Eve* and the *Serpent*, (which he afterwards deſir'd a *Dutch* bookſeller

in

in a letter of his, which I have read [s], to ſuppreſs in a new edition of that book then printing in *Holland*) had not diſabled him from any other preferments, and even oblig'd the King to remove him from his office at court. He died at the *Charter-Houſe* on the 27th of *September* 1715, at a very advanc'd age. Beſides his writings ſo well known to, and ſo juſtly eſteem'd by the world, he was likewiſe author of three ſmall pieces publiſh'd without his name, under the title of *Remarks upon an* Eſſay concerning human underſtanding, *in a letter addreſs'd to the author*, London 1697 in 4to. *Second remarks*, &c. *being a vindication of the firſt remarks againſt the anſwer of Mr.* Locke *at the end of his reply to the Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, printed there the ſame year, and *Third remarks*, &c. in 1699: Which *remarks* were anſwered by Mrs. Catharine Trotter, afterwards Mrs. Cockburn, then but twenty-three years of age, in her *Defence of Mr.* Locke's *eſſay*, publiſhed at *London* in *May* 1702.

The ſucceſſor of the Archbiſhop in the Deanry of *St. Paul's* was Dr. William Sherlock, who owed it to his Grace's recommendation and intereſt, and was inſtall'd in it on the 15th of *July* 1691. This eminent Divine, whoſe practical writings will make him as much known to poſterity, as his controverſial did in his own time, was born in *Southwark* about the year 1641, and educated at *Eton-School*; thence removed to *Peter-Houſe* in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1660, and Maſter in 1665, as he did that of Doctor

[s] It was ſhewn me by the Rev[d]. Dr. Bearcroft, Preacher to the *Charter-Houſe*.

of divinity in 1680. His firſt preferment in *London* was that of the Rectory of *St. George Botolph-Lane*, to which he was collated *Auguſt* 3d 1669, as he was to the Prebend of *Pancras* in the church of *St. Paul's November* 3d 1681. Three years after he was made Maſter of the *Temple*. During the Popiſh controverſy in the reign of King JAMES II, he was one of the moſt conſiderable writers on the Proteſtant ſide. After the revolution he for ſome time refus'd the oaths to the new government, which ſhewed great indulgence to him on that occaſion, by not taking the forfeiture of his preferments. But at laſt in 1690 his ſcruples being intirely remov'd by Biſhop OVERAL'S acts and canons of the Convocation, begun in the firſt year of King JAMES I, he took the oaths to their Majeſties, and immediately publiſhed his reaſons in his *Caſe of the allegiance due to the ſovereign powers*, licenſed for the preſs the 17th of *October* that year; which drew upon him the reſentments of the whole *Jacobite* party, vented upon all occaſions in the moſt indecent language. Nor was he treated with greater civility by Dr. SOUTH, who had himſelf ſubmitted to the government, than by Dr. HICKES or Mr. COLLIER. He died at *Hampſtead* near *London* on the 19th of *June* 1707, in the 67th year of his age, having been ſome years before ſucceeded in the maſterſhip of the *Temple* by his ſon, the preſent Lord Biſhop of *London*.

Soon after the Archbiſhop's promotion, Lady RUSSEL having on the 24th of *July* 1691 written a letter to the Queen in favour of RICHARD VAUGHAN, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the county of *Caermarthen*, a near relation of her firſt

huſband,

huſband, the Lord VAUGHAN, that he might ſucceed Col. HERBERT, as Auditor of *Wales*, a place worth 400*l.* a year, ſhe requeſted his Grace to deliver it to her Majeſty. This he accordingly did, though he wrote to her Ladyſhip on the 25th, before he had preſented her letter to the Queen, that he apprehended the place to be already diſpos'd of; which was likewiſe the opinion of her Majeſty, whoſe anſwer to Lady RUSSEL on the 30th of that month contains ſome paſſages, on account of which I have mentioned this affair, and which cannot be omitted in juſtice to the ſentiments of a Princeſs more conſpicuous for her perſonal accompliſhments of underſtanding and diſpoſition, than her external dignity. "You are very much in the right, *ſays her* "*Majeſty*, to believe, I have cauſe enough to "think this life not ſo fine a thing, as, it may "be, others do, that I lead at preſent. Beſides "the pain I am almoſt continually in for the "King, it is ſo contrary to my own inclination, "that it can be neither eaſy nor pleaſant. But "I ſee one is not ever to live for one's ſelf. I "have had many years of eaſe and content, and "was not ſo ſenſible of my own happineſs, as "I ought, till I loſt it. But I muſt be content "with what it pleaſes GOD, and this year have "great reaſon to praiſe him hitherto for the "ſucceſſes in *Ireland*[t]; the news of which came "ſo quick upon one another, that made me "fear we had ſome ill to expect from other "places. But I truſt in GOD, that will not be, "tho' it looks, as if we muſt hope for little "good either from *Flanders* or ſea. The King "continues,

[t] The taking of *Athlone* by General GINKLE *June* 30th, and his victory over ST. RUTH and the *Iriſh July* 12th.

" continues, GOD be praiſed, very well; and " tho' I tremble at the thoughts of it, yet I can- " not but wiſh a battle well over. And for " that at ſea, I wiſh it as heartily as Mr. RUS- " SEL [u] himſelf."

Mr. NELSON, who was at the *Hague* in *December* of this year 1691, in the houſe of his brother-in-law, Lord DURSLEY, Envoy-Extraordinary to the States-General, and was fixed in his reſolution not to acknowledge the government of the King and Queen, thought proper now to conſult the Archbiſhop with regard to the practice of thoſe Nonjurors, who frequented the churches, and yet profeſs'd, that they did not join in the prayers for their Majeſties. His Grace's anſwer to Mr. NELSON's queſtion was dated *December* 15th 1691 in theſe words: " As " to the caſe you put, I wonder men ſhould be " divided in opinion about it. I think it plain, " that no man can join in prayers, in which " there is any petition, which he is verily per- " ſuaded is ſinful. I cannot endure a trick any " where, much leſs in religion." This is undoubtedly the letter referr'd to in *The life of Mr.* KETTLEWELL [w], whoſe opinion was exactly the ſame.

After the Archbiſhop had been near a year in his See, he found himſelf confirm'd in the notions, which he had before entertain'd, that the circumſtances attending a great poſt make grandeur not near ſo eligible, with regard to the poſſeſſor's own eaſe and happineſs, as perſons at a diſtance from it are apt to imagine. To this purpoſe he enter'd his own reflections in ſhort-hand

[u] Afterwards Earl of *Orford.*
[w] *P.* 351. and 357.

hand in his Common-place-book, under the title of *Some ſcattered thoughts of my own upon ſeveral ſubjects and occaſions, begun this day* March 13, 169$\frac{1}{2}$ *to be tranſcrib'd.* His remarks *concerning a public and ſplendid way of living compar'd with a private and retir'd life* deſerve to be inſerted here at length, as they were the reſult of the real experience of a very able obſerver of human life in all its ſituations.

" One would be apt to wonder, that NEHE-
" MIAH (Chap. v. Ver. 16, 17, 18.) ſhould
" reckon a huge bill of fare, and a vaſt number
" of promiſcuous gueſts amongſt his virtues and
" good deeds, for which he deſires GOD to re-
" member him. But upon better conſideration,
" beſides the bounty, and ſometimes charity, of
" a great table, (provided there be nothing of
" vanity or oſtentation in it) there may be exer-
" ciſed two very conſiderable virtues; one is,
" *temperance*, and the other *ſelf-denial*, in a man's
" being contented for the ſake of the public,
" to deny himſelf ſo much, as to ſit down
" every day to a feaſt, and to eat continually in
" a croud, and almoſt never to be alone, eſpe-
" cially when, as it often happens, a great part
" of the company, that a man muſt have, is
" the company, that a man would not have. I
" doubt it will prove but a melancholy buſineſs,
" when a man comes to die, to have made a
" great noiſe and buſtle in the world, and to
" have been known far and near; but all this
" while to have been hid and conceal'd from
" himſelf. It is a very odd and fantaſtical ſort
" of life for a man to be continually from home,
" and moſt of all a ſtranger at his own houſe.

" It

" It is ſurely an uneaſy thing to ſit always in " a frame, and to be perpetually upon a man's " guard; not to be able to ſpeak a careleſs " word, or to uſe a negligent poſture, without " obſervation and cenſure.

" Men are apt to think, that they, who are " in higheſt places, and have the moſt power, " have moſt liberty to ſay and do what they " pleaſe. But it is quite otherwiſe, for they " have the leaſt liberty, becauſe they are moſt " obſerved. It is not mine own obſervation; " a much wiſer man (I mean TULLY) ſays, *In* " *maximâ quâque fortunâ minimum licere.* They, " that are in the higheſt and greateſt condition, " have of all others the leaſt liberty.

" In a moderate ſtation it is ſufficient for a " man to be indifferently wiſe. Such a man has " the privilege to commit little follies and mi- " ſtakes without having any great notice taken " of them. But he, that lives in the light, *i. e.* " in the view of all men, his actions are expoſed " to every body's obſervation and cenſure.

" We ought to be glad, when thoſe, that are " fit for government, and called to it, are willing " to take the burden of it upon them; yea, " and to be very thankful to them too, that " they will be at the pains, and can have the " patience, to govern, and to live publicly. " Therefore it is happy for the world, that there " are ſome, who are born and bred up to it; " and that cuſtom hath made it eaſy, or at leaſt " tolerable to them. Elſe who, that is wiſe, " would undertake it, ſince it is certainly much " eaſier of the two to obey a juſt and wiſe go- " vernment (I had almoſt ſaid any government) " than to govern juſtly and wiſely. Not that

" I

" I find fault with thoſe, who apply themſelves " to public buſineſs and affairs. They do well, " and we are beholden to them. Some by their " education, and being bred up to great things, " and to be able to bear and manage great buſi- " neſs with more eaſe than others, are peculiarly " fitted to ſerve GOD and the public in this " way: and they, that do, are worthy of double " honour.

" The advantage, which men have by a more " devout, and retired, and contemplative life, " is, that they are not diſtracted about many " things; their minds and affections are ſet " upon one thing; and the whole ſtream and " force of their affections run one way. All " their thoughts and endeavours are united in " one great end and deſign, which makes their " life all of a piece, and to be conſiſtent with " itſelf throughout.

" Nothing but neceſſity, or the hope of doing " more good than a man is capable of doing in " a private ſtation (which a modeſt man will " not eaſily preſume concerning himſelf) can re- " compenſe the trouble and uneaſineſs of a more " public and buſy life.

" Beſides that many men, if they underſtand " themſelves right, are at the beſt in a lower " and more private condition, and make a much " more awkard figure in a higher and more pub- " lic ſtation; when perhaps, if they had not " been advanced, every one would have thought " them fit and worthy to have been ſo.

" And thus I have conſidered and compared " impartially both theſe conditions, and upon " the whole matter, without any thing either of " diſparagement or diſcouragement to the wiſe

" and

" and great. And in my poor judgment the
" more retired and private condition is the better
" and ſafer, the more eaſy and innocent, and
" conſequently the more deſirable of the two *.

" Thoſe, who are fitted and contented to ſerve
" mankind in the management and government
" of public affairs, are called benefactors, and if
" they govern [well], deſerve to be called ſo,
" and to be ſo accounted, for denying them-
" ſelves in their own eaſe, to do good to many.

" Not that it is perfection to go out of the
" world, and to be perfectly uſeleſs. Our LORD
" by his own example has taught us, that we
" can never ſerve GOD better than when doing
" good to men; and that a perpetual retirement
" from the world, and ſhunning the converſation
" of men, is not the moſt religious life; but
" living amongſt men, and doing good to them.
" The life of our Saviour is a pattern both of
" the contemplative and active life, and ſhews
" us, how to mix devotion and doing good to
" the greateſt advantage. He would neither go
" out of the world, nor yet immerſe himſelf in
" the cares and troubles, in the pleaſures and
" plentiful enjoyments; much leſs in the pomp
" and ſplendor of it. He did not place religion
" (as too many have done ſince) in a total retire-
" ment from the world, and ſhunning the con-
" verſation of men, and taking care to be out
" of all condition and capacity of doing good
" to any body. He did not run away from the
" converſation of men, nor live in a wilderneſs,
" nor ſhut himſelf up in a pen. He lived in
" the world with great freedom, and with great
" innocency,

* A man would be glad to ſteal ſome more parts of his life to himſelf and his own uſe, before he leave the world.

" innocency, hereby teaching us, that charity to
" men is a duty no leſs neceſſary than devotion
" towards GOD. He the world without
" leaving it. We read indeed, that he was car-
" ried into the wilderneſs to be tempted: But
" we no where read, that he choſe to live in a
" wilderneſs to avoid temptation.

" The capacity and opportunity of doing
" greater good is the ſpecious pretence, under
" which ambition is wont to cover the eager
" deſire of power and greatneſs.

" If it be ſaid (which is the moſt ſpiteful
" thing, that can be ſaid) that ſome ambition is
" neceſſary to vindicate a man from being a
" fool; to this I think it may be fairly anſwered,
" and without offence, that there may perhaps
" be as much ambition in declining greatneſs,
" as in courting it: Only it is of a more unuſual
" kind, and the example of it leſs dangerous,
" becauſe it is not like to be contagious."

When his Grace was ſettled in the Archiepiſcopal See, he began to form ſeveral deſigns for the advantage of the church and religion in general. In theſe he was encourag'd by the readineſs of their Majeſties to promote them by their authority [y], and eſpecially of the Queen, who was inceſſantly employed in poſſeſſing her mind with the beſt ſchemes, that were either laid before her by others, or ſuggeſted by her own thoughts, for correcting every thing, which was amiſs, and improving every thing, that wanted finiſhing [z]. With this view, the Archbiſhop join'd with her Majeſty in engaging Dr. BURNET Biſhop

[y] BURNET's funeral ſermon, *p.* 25, 26.

[z] Id. Preface *to the 3d Edit. of his* paſtoral care, *p.* xxxviii. *4th Edit.* London 1736.

Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, to draw up his excellent *Diſcourſe of the paſtoral care*, which was that Prelate's favourite tract [a], as an attempt to prepare the ſcene for many noble deſigns for the perfecting of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution [b]. This diſcourſe was finiſhed before the end of *March* 1692; and the Biſhop ſeems to have had ſome intention of dedicating it to his friend the Archbiſhop; who, on the other hand, was zealous for its being publiſh'd under the Queen's patronage; for which purpoſe he wrote the following letter to that Prelate [c].

Lambeth-Houſe, March 29, 1692.

" My Lord,

" AS backward as I am in writing letters, I " received one yeſterday ſo very kind, " that I could not forbear to acknowledge it " with the firſt opportunity. I do heartily con- " gratulate with your Lordſhip the birth of your " two daughters, and eſpecially the ſafety of the " good mother, after ſo long and heavy a bur- " then, and ſo ſore a brunt. I pray GOD to " multiply his bleſſings upon you more and " more.

" I find your Lordſhip hath been in travel " too; and I doubt not but have brought forth " a man-child. I ſhall be glad to ſee him. I " wonder you can have any diſpute where to " dedicate it: Not that I ſhould not be proud " of it. But no body muſt come in competition " with

[a] Concluſion of the hiſtory of his own time, *vol.* II. *p.* 637.

[b] *Preface to* paſtoral care, *ubi ſupra*, and *Ch.* IX. *p.* 223, 224.

[c] Communicated by the honourable Mr. Juſtice BURNET.

" with the good Queen, who ſo well deſerves " all the reſpect, that can be paid her by all " mankind; beſides that I have the curioſity to " ſee the ſkill of your pen in ſo tender a point, " as it will be to do her Majeſty right without " grating upon her modeſty.

" I am glad of the happy ſucceſs of your " pains in catechiſing the youth, which could " not but be univerſally acceptable; for even " bad parents wiſh their children good.

" And now I think it high time to give your " Lordſhip my moſt hearty thanks for your " kindneſs to the ſon of my old friend Mr. " DEREHAM, and am glad the young man " hath approv'd himſelf to you. Your Lord- " ſhip's kind thoughts towards the father are yet " much greater: but many things muſt happen " to bring that about; and if what is deſign'd " ſucceed, there will be leſs need, and therefore " I would have no hopes given him of it.

" My wife ſends her humble duty to your " Lordſhip, and joins her ſervice with mine to " Mrs. BURNET, and does equally congratulate " with me her ſafety and happineſs. GOD keep " you, and continue you long for the ſervice of " his church. I am moſt aſſuredly,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate

" brother and friend,

" Jo. CANT."

The Biſhop of *Saliſbury* immediately ſent the manuſcript of his *diſcourſe* to his Grace, who return'd him this anſwer [d].

" My

[d] Communicated by the honourable Mr. Juſtice BURNET.

Lambeth-Houſe, April 12th 1692.

" My Lord,

" SINCE you are pleaſed to be ſo poſitive, " I will take upon me too; and will write " how and by whom I pleaſe, and am reſolv'd " to try, whether you can find in your heart to " give over writing to me. And why, I pray, " was not Mr. FAIRFAX mention'd among my " ſcribes?

" I have read over your book with great care, " and except that I have here and there put in " ſome few words, which I ſaw by the ſenſe " were omitted, I ſaw no reaſon to make any " alteration in the whole, ſaving the putting in " of one word, and the changing of another; ſo " moderately have I uſed that unlimited power " you intruſted me with. The work is as per- " fect in its kind, as I hope to ſee any thing. I " cannot but take notice of a remarkable pru- " dence in the caſt of the whole, that you do " not grate too hard and too near upon the " preſent ſtate of things amongſt us, but leave " what you ſay in general, to be applied to our- " ſelves, if we pleaſe; which is ſo far from " abating the force of it, that it will, I believe, " render it more effectual. It will, I hope, do " much good at preſent, and much more when " you and I are dead and gone. I pray GOD " to reward you for it.

" On *Friday* laſt I left it with the Queen, to " whom I read the concluſion, which ſhe will " by no means allow; nor any thing more than " a bare dedication. She ſays, ſhe knows you " can uſe no moderation in ſpeaking of her. So " reſolute and unaffected a modeſty I never ſaw.

" Her

" Her Majeſty hath for ſeveral days had a " very bad cold. It would do any one good to " ſee with what a grace and chearfulneſs ſhe " plays off ſo great an illneſs. But I hope the " worſt is over, and that GOD hath deſign'd her " for a long bleſſing to us.

" As for the *office of the faſt*, you will not " cenſure that matter, when I have told you, " that I took care to have it printed 5 weeks be- " fore; but it could not be ſent abroad till the " firſt faſt-day was ſettled. This her Majeſty " had appointed on the 13th of *April*. But when " the proclamation was brought to the council, " it was objected, that the 13th was the firſt " day of the Term. Then the 20th was pro- " poſed; but that was thought not ſo conve- " nient, becauſe ſome action abroad might hap- " pen ſooner. Then it was brought back to the " 8th. I told the Queen, there would not be " time enough to diſperſe the office. She ſaid " let it go as far as it can for the firſt faſt; it " will come time enough for the months fol- " lowing.

" Yeſterday morning I obtain'd a meeting " here of eight Biſhops, *York*, *London*, *Wor-* " *ceſter*, *Ely*, *Gloceſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, *Lin-* " *coln*. I propoſed to them the heads of a " circular letter; upon which we diſcourſed " very calmly, and without the leaſt claſhing; " and in concluſion they were all unanimouſly " agreed to, and two or three heads more ſug- " geſted, which were likewiſe conſented to, " none more chearfully concurring in every " thing than my Lord Biſhop of *London*. We " dined together with great kindneſs. This " your Lordſhip will eaſily believe was no ſmall

" contentment to me. But I muſt not be ſo
" vain, as not to conſider, that I owe all this to
" the countenance and influence of her Majeſty.
" Your Lordſhip may expect a more particular
" account of this affair when it comes to more
" ripeneſs. In the mean time, and ever, I am,
" My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate

" brother and ſervant,

" JO. CANT."

The *paſtoral care* being now ready for the preſs, received the *imprimatur* of the Archbiſhop himſelf on the 5th of *May* 1692, and was publiſh'd the ſame year.

His Grace's acceptance of the See of *Canterbury*, and his attachment to the cauſe of the revolution, excluded him, among others, from the offer of pardon in King JAMES II's declaration. This was ſent over to *England* about *April* 1692, previous to his intended invaſion of this kingdom with a conſiderable army of *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *Iriſh*, and *French*; and it is ſaid to have been drawn up by Sir JAMES MONTGOMERY, the ſuppos'd author of a very ſevere pamphlet againſt the government, intitled, *Britain's juſt complaint*, whoſe zeal for the revolution, by the diſappointment of his ambition in not being gratified with the poſt of Secretary of ſtate for *Scotland*, was ſoon chang'd into the greateſt activity for the reſtoration of the abdicated King, till his firmneſs to the Proteſtant religion expos'd him to ſuch ill treatment at the court of *St. Germains*, that he was oblig'd to abandon it,

and

and retire to *Paris*, where he died in extreme melancholy and diſtreſs. But the threats of that King were render'd ineffectual, and his deſign intirely defeated by the victory of Admiral Russel over the *French* fleet on the 19th of *May* 1692, and the deſtruction of it at *La Hogue*. But there not being the ſame proſpect of ſucceſs in *Flanders*, where Lewis XIV in perſon open'd the trenches before *Namur* on the 15th of *May*; which city he took on the 26th of *May*, as he did the caſtle on the 21ſt of *June*, the ill ſituation of affairs made a deep impreſſion on his Grace, who improved every apprehenſion of public diſtreſs into the moſt ſerious reſolutions for the regulation of his own conduct. Accordingly I find in ſhort-hand in his Common-place-book the following *memoranda*:

" *June* 7th 1692. That laſt night at 12 being " in great perplexity for the King (now in great " danger, if there be an engagement) I lay " waking from that time till 5 in the morning, " and did ſolemnly make theſe following reſo- " lutions, which I earneſtly beg of almighty " God the grace and power to make good, and " did likewiſe reſolve to read them over every " morning.

" 1. Not to be angry with any body upon " any occaſion, becauſe all anger is fooliſh, and " a ſhort fit of madneſs; betrays us to great " indecencies: And whereas it is intended to " hurt others, the edge of it turns upon our- " ſelves. We always repent of it, and are at " leaſt more angry at ourſelves than by being " angry at others.

" 2. Not to be peeviſh and diſcontented. " This argues littleneſs and infirmity of mind.

" 3. Not to trouble the Queen any more with " my troubles.

" 4. Whenever I ſee any error or infirmity in " myſelf, inſtead of intending to mend it, to " reſolve upon it preſently and effectually.

" 5. Not to diſturb the Queen on the Lord's " day, or, if I ſpeak with her, to ſpeak only " on matters of religion.

" 6. To uſe all gentleneſs towards all men, " in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe, that oppoſe " themſelves.

" 7. Never to mention any thing ſaid by me " to the King or Queen, or by them to me; but " to thank GOD every day for the great bleſſing " of the King and Queen, and for their admi- " rable example.

" 8. To read this every morning before I go " to prayer."

The ſame month his Grace was conſulted by his friend the Archbiſhop of *York* how to proceed with a Diſſenter in his dioceſe, who, claiming the privilege of the act of toleration, had ſet up an academy, and was complain'd of to him by the clergy of *Craven* in a formal petition, that this academy might be ſuppreſs'd [e]. The perſon was Mr. RICHARD FRANKLAND, born in 1630 at *Rathmill* in the pariſh of *Gigleſwick* in *Craven* in *Yorkſhire*, and educated at *Chriſt's-College* in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Maſter of arts, and was afterwards a Preacher at *Haughton-le-Spring*, *Lancheſter*, and *Biſhops-Aukland*

[e] Letter of the Rev^d. Mr. Archdeacon SHARP, of *Nov.* 7, 1751.

Aukland in *Durham* [f]; and when the Protector CROMWELL had erected at *Durham* a college for academical learning on the 15th of *May* 1657 [g], Mr. FRANKLAND was fix'd upon as a fit man to be a tutor there. But that college being demoliſh'd at the reſtoration; and the act of uniformity, with which he refus'd to comply, tho' ſollicited with a promiſe of conſiderable preferment by Biſhop COSINS of *Durham*, excluding him from his Living, he retir'd to *Rathmill*, which was his own eſtate, where he ſet up a private academy, and had in the courſe of a few years three-hundred pupils. Thence in 1674 he remov'd to *Natland* near *Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*, and thence, on account of the five-mile act, to *Dawſonfold*, and other places, and at laſt return'd to *Kendal*, where he died on the 1ſt of *October* 1698, having met with much oppoſition in the latter part of his life, being cited into the Biſhop's court, and excommunicated for non-appearance, but abſolv'd by order of King WILLIAM, at the interceſſion of the Lord WHARTON, Sir THOMAS ROOKBY, and others. He was afterwards ſent for by Archbiſhop SHARP, who treated him with great civility; notwithſtanding which, a freſh citation was ſent from the eccleſiaſtical court, but the proceedings upon it were ſtopp'd by a prohibition [h]. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s anſwer to his brother of *York* was as follows [i]:

[f] Dr. CALAMY's account, *p.* 284, 285.

[g] PECK's memoirs of OLIVER CROMWELL, Collect. *Numb.* xx. *p.* 61. *& ſeqq.*

[h] Dr. CALAMY's account, *p.* 284—288.

[i] Communicated to me by the Rev[d]. Dr. THOMAS SHARP, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*.

Lambeth-Houſe, June 14, 1692.

" My Lord,

" YEſterday I receiv'd your Grace's letter " concerning Mr. FRANKLAND, with the " copy of an addreſs to your Grace againſt him. " Yourſelf are beſt judge what is fit to be done " in the caſe, becauſe you have the advantage of " inquiring into all the circumſtances of it. If " my advice can ſignify any thing, it can only " be to tell your Grace what I would do in it, " as the caſe appears to me at this diſtance. I " would ſend for him, and tell him, that I " would never do any thing to infringe the act " of toleration; but I did not think his caſe " came within it: That there were two things " in his caſe, which would hinder me from " granting him a licence, though he were in all " things conformable to the church of *England*. " Firſt, his ſetting up a ſchool, where a free-" ſchool is already eſtabliſh'd: And then his " inſtructing of young men in ſo public a man-" ner in univerſity-learning, which is contrary " to his oath to do, if he have taken a degree in " either of our univerſities, and I doubt con-" trary to the Biſhops oath to grant a licence " for the doing of it; ſo that your Grace does " not in this matter conſider him at all as a Diſ-" ſenter. This I only offer to your Grace as " what ſeems to me the faireſt and ſofteſt way " of ridding your hands of this buſineſs.

" With my humble ſervice to Mrs. SHARP, " and my hearty prayers for your health and a

" long

" long life to do GOD and his church much " ſervice, I remain, My Lord,

" Your Grace's very affectionate

" brother and ſervant,

" JO. CANT."

The next month his Grace was named by the Queen herſelf to ſtand Godfather with her Majeſty and the Earl of *Bath* to the new-born ſon of CHARLES Marquis of *Wincheſter*, afterwards Duke of *Bolton*, by his Lady, FRANCES, daughter of WILLIAM RAMSDEN of *Byrom* in the county of *York*, Eſq. This honour done the Archbiſhop by her Majeſty was ſo ſenſibly felt by him, that he could not ſuppreſs the mention of it, tho' in a ſtyle of the greateſt modeſty and delicacy, to Lady RUSSEL, in a letter, which he wrote to her upon a buſineſs of her own [k].

Aug. 1, 1692.

" Honour'd Madam,

" ON *Sunday* morning I gave yours to the " Queen, telling her, that I was afraid it " came too late. She ſaid, *perhaps not*. Yeſter- " day meeting the Queen at a Chriſtening, ſhe " gave me the incloſed to ſend to your Lady- " ſhip. And if I could but obtain of your ſe- " vere judgment to wink a little at my vanity, " I would tell you how this happened. My " Lady Marchioneſs of *Wincheſter* being lately " delivered of a ſon, ſpake to the Queen to " ſtand Godmother: And the Queen aſking, " whom ſhe had thought of for Godfathers, ſhe " ſaid

[k] From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the late Biſhop of *London*.

" ſaid only the Earl of *Bath*, and whom elſe " her Majeſty would pleaſe to name. They " agreed upon me, which was a great ſurprize " to me; but I doubt not a gracious contrivance " of her Majeſty to let the world know, that " I have her countenance and ſupport. If it " pleaſe GOD to preſerve my good maſter, and " to grant him ſucceſs, I have nothing more to " wiſh in this world, but that GOD would grant " children to this excellent Prince; and that I, " who am ſaid not to have been baptized myſelf, " may have the honour to baptize a Prince of " *Wales*. With GOD, to whoſe wiſdom and " goodneſs we muſt ſubmit every thing, this is " not impoſſible. To his protection and bleſſing " I commend your Ladyſhip and your hopeful " children.

" Reading over what I have written puts me " in mind of one, who, when he was in his " drink, always went and ſhewed himſelf to his " beſt friends. But your Ladyſhip knows how " to forgive a little folly to one ſo intirely devo- " ted to your ſervice, as is, Honour'd Madam,

" Your moſt obliged and humble ſervant,

" JO. CANT."

In the latter end of this year 1692, the *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*, written in *Latin* by PHILIP LIMBORCH, Profeſſor of divinity among the *Arminians* at *Amſterdam*, was publiſh'd there in fol. with a dedication to the Archbiſhop. This work was undertaken by the author upon meeting with the original manuſcript of the *Sentences* pronounc'd by the Inquiſition at *Thoulouſe* in *France*, from the year 1307 to 1323; and it is an excel-

lent

lent performance, and contains an account of the riſe, progreſs, and proceedings of that formidable court, ſupported by indiſputable authorities. When he had finiſhed it, he wrote in *June* 1692 to Mr. Locke, who was a common friend to the Archbiſhop and himſelf, to requeſt his Grace's leave for giving it the world under the ſanction of his patronage. Mr. Locke wrote to Mr. Limborch on the 30th of that month[1], that he had that day waited upon the Archbiſhop, who immediately recollected Mr. Limborch's name, and that he had received from him a preſent of that Divine's book, intitled, *De veritate religionis Chriſtianæ amica collatio cum erudito Judæo*, printed in 1687, excuſing himſelf for not having return'd him a letter of thanks for it, becauſe his ill health, the weakneſs of his eyes, and other intervening engagements of buſineſs, had hitherto prevented him from reading the whole: But he highly commended the work and its author. He thought, that the *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition* would be very ſeaſonable at that time; and read over the contents of the chapters with great pleaſure and approbation; and when Mr. Locke mentioned to him the affair of the dedication, he anſwered with ſo much civility of words and countenance, as ſhew'd, that it was not diſpleaſing to him. Mr. Locke therefore adviſed Mr. Limborch to ſend it over, concurring with him in opinion, that the Archbiſhop ſhould read it before it was ſent to the preſs; and promiſing to ſhew it to his Grace, and to mark any thing in it that ought to be alter'd. His Grace obſerv'd, that he had a book printed

[1] Familiar letters between Mr. Locke and ſeveral of his friends, *p.* 339. *Edit.* London 1708, in 8vo.

printed in *Portugal* in 8vo, concerning an *auto de fe* there, to which were prefix'd ſeveral papal bulls and other inſtruments, granting and eſtabliſhing the authority of the holy office; which book he had not yet found, though he had look'd for it, his library not being yet in order; but directed it to be ſearch'd out againſt Mr. LOCKE's next viſit, to be ſent to Mr. LIMBORCH. Mr. LOCKE in his next letter of the 28th of *November* 1692 [m], informs Mr. LIMBORCH of his having come immediately to *London* upon the arrival of the printed copies of his book, and waited upon the Archbiſhop, who declar'd his obligations to Mr. LIMBORCH for it, and his great ſatisfaction in reading it, as he had already done the greateſt part of it, notwithſtanding his avocations of moſt important buſineſs; and that he deſign'd to write to Mr. LIMBORCH a letter of thanks upon that occaſion. Mr. LOCKE in another letter of the 10th of *January* 169$\frac{2}{3}$ [n], acquaints Mr. LIMBORCH, that upon his coming to town three days before, the Archbiſhop ſent for him, and having premiſed many things in commendation of Profeſſor LIMBORCH and his hiſtory, ſaid, that he had now at laſt wrote to him, having been hitherto prevented by a multitude of buſineſs; deſiring Mr. LOCKE to direct and tranſmit his letter, together with a volume of his ſermons lately publiſhed.

Mr. LIMBORCH's dedication to his Grace is form'd upon topics, that do the higheſt honour to a Proteſtant Prelate, and are applied to him with great force and propriety. He begins it with remarking, that upon a thorough conſideration of the ſubject of the book itſelf, and of the

[m] Familiar letters, &c. *p.* 341. [n] Ibid. *p.* 345.

the eminent rank held by the Archbiſhop with the unanimous applauſe of all good men, and to the common advantage of all the reformed churches, in a criſis of the utmoſt difficulty, the inſcription of ſuch a work was due to his Grace above all men living. That on the one hand, all perſons, who wiſh'd the maintenance of the Goſpel purity and liberty, had the higheſt veneration for his Grace, who was plac'd at the head of the church of *England*, the moſt eminent among the reformed, and who was on that account in ſome meaſure the defender of the reformed churches in general; his endeavours being faithfully employed in the promoting the Chriſtian doctrine and faith, by means directly oppoſite to thoſe of the papal tyranny, and in engaging men in the way of ſalvation. For not to inſiſt upon his eloquence in the pulpit, of which he was ſo great a maſter, genuine, free from the diſguiſe of falſe ornaments, and agreeable to the divine oracles, his ſtrength and acuteneſs of judgment in controverſy, his learning adapted to uſe, and not to oſtentation, and his other excellent qualifications, which had long before fix'd the attention and hopes of all good men upon him, and now adorn'd the high office, which he fill'd; his Grace's mildneſs of temper, ſo peculiarly becoming a paſtor of the church, and ſo much wanted in that age, promiſed the greateſt advantage to the reformation, which ſtill labour'd under difficulties, and had been lately almoſt oppreſs'd. For ſo diſtinguiſh'd was his Grace for integrity of life, ſimplicity of manners, candour, univerſal charity and benevolence, and prudence founded on experience, that divine Providence ſeem'd to have choſen him,

in

in order that under his influence and conduct, the whole body of the reformed churches, laying aſide their inteſtine diſputes, might unite and ſupport the liberty of the Goſpel and the Chriſtian religion againſt the machinations and ſhocking cruelty of the church of *Rome*. That his Grace, who was an example to all men of a true evangelical charity, oppoſed the tyranny of the See of *Rome*, by the ſame arts, ſanctity of life and benignity of heart, with which Chriſtianity antiently ſubdued and deſtroyed Pagan idolatry, impiety, and tyranny, and by which it will always triumph over its enemies. Theſe were the reaſons, which prevented Mr. LIMBORCH from offering his work to any other patron, than his Grace, who, he was perſuaded, would concur with him in opinion, that the publication of it would be extremely ſeaſonable in the preſent ſituation of things, when Popery, eſpecially in *England*, was endeavouring to advance itſelf, and gain the ſole dominion; ſince the readers of that book would ſee in it, as in a glaſs, the lively and genuine repreſentation of it, and by that means not ſuffer themſelves to be deluded with a fallacious one; and conſequently view it in its proper light, of a confederacy of cruel and ſanguinary men, affecting, and, where they can, uſurping an authority over the conſciences of others, and erecting a kingdom in direct oppoſition to that of Chriſt. He hoped therefore, that all Proteſtants would, under the auſpices of his Grace, as their common ſpiritual father, be inſpired with a juſt horror of the papal dominion, and obviate its progreſs by the ſincerity of their faith, a charity truly Chriſtian, and a thorough purity of manners: And that, for the

ſake of preſerving the reformation, they would learn to deteſt all cruelty againſt, and puniſhments of thoſe, who diſſented or were in error, if they were otherwiſe perſons of piety; ſince it is certain, that all mankind will give an account of their faith before the tribunal of Chriſt, their ſupreme legiſlator and judge; and that no man has a right to make laws for conſcience, and preſcribe rules of belief, which would be in reality aſſuming the ſeat of Chriſt. Upon theſe principles the church would at laſt flouriſh under his Grace; and enmity, hatred, and ſchiſms, by which it had been hitherto miſerably divided, be intirely aboliſhed. And if God in puniſhment for our ſins, ſhould not yet reſtore the golden age of the primitive church, when all the believers had *one heart* and *one mind*, men would at leaſt learn not to domineer over the conſciences of their brethren, nor to puniſh any perſon for a ſimple and innocent error of judgment, much leſs to inflict death upon him for the ingenuous profeſſion of his faith, of which he is ready to give an account to God; but to expoſe errors by reaſon, and the clear teſtimony of ſcripture, and in the mean time to wait with meekneſs and patience for the repentance of the erring perſon, till God ſhall enable him to ſee and embrace the truth. Mr. Limborch concludes his dedication with his wiſhes, that Providence would bleſs his Grace's pious labours for the peace and benefit of the church, and grant, that he might reſtore and ſupport it by the ſame means, to which it ow'd its firſt riſe, progreſs, and eſtabliſhment.

His Grace had likewiſe a great regard for another very learned man among the *Arminians*

in

in *Holland*, to whom the *Engliſh* nation is greatly obliged for the reputation, which our beſt writers of the laſt and preſent century have acquir'd in foreign countries. This was Monſ. LE CLERC, whoſe tranſlation of, and paraphraſe and commentary upon *Geneſis*, publiſhed in 1693, gave ſuch ſatisfaction to the Archbiſhop, that after he had read part of it, he teſtified his approbation of it by a letter to the author, and afterwards ſent him a preſent of Biſhop KIDDER's *Commentary on the five books of Moſes*, publiſh'd in 1694 [o], But that Prelate having in his *Diſſertation* concerning the author of the *Pentateuch* paſs'd a judgment upon Monſ. LE CLERC's work, which the latter was perſuaded the Archbiſhop diſapproved, he wrote to the Biſhop on the 5th of *November* 1694, to complain of his Lordſhip's charging him with ill arts, and having ſaid things, which could only have been expected from a diſciple of HOBBES, or a deiſt. Biſhop KIDDER return'd an anſwer from *Wells* on the 9th of that month, promiſing to do juſtice to his character, which promiſe he repeated ſoon after to a friend of Monſ. LE CLERC; who, upon his Lordſhip's dying without publicly reporting the cenſure abovemention'd, printed the letters, which had paſs'd between them on that ſubject [p].

The ſucceſs at ſea in the ſummer of the year 1692, and the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon both from an intended aſſaſſination by the Sieur DE GRANDVAL, to which, according to his own confeſſion, King JAMES and his Queen, as well as the *French* court were privy, and in the unfortunate battle of *Steinkirk*, on the 24th

[o] Bibliotheque Choiſie, *Tom.* IV. *Art.* X. *p.* 364.
[p] Ibid. *p.* 370. *& ſeqq.*

of *July*, againſt Marſhal LUXEMBOURGH, occaſioning a public thankſgiving on the 27th of *October*, the Archbiſhop was appointed to preach before their Majeſties, after the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* had excuſed himſelf. For the Queen having ſent that Biſhop a text, *Exod. iv.* 13. he prepar'd a ſermon upon it; but then humbly repreſented to her Majeſty, that he having preach'd the two thankſgiving ſermons in the two preceding years, it would look as if none elſe was willing to perform that office, if it ſhould be ſtill laid upon him. The Queen ſaw the force of this remark, and order'd the Archbiſhop to preach on that occaſion; but the Biſhop's ſermon, though not preached, was afterwards publiſhed by him with others in 1713. That of his Grace was on *Jerem. ix.* 23, 24. in which he deſcribes the revolution, as the cauſe of true religion againſt a falſe and idolatrous worſhip, and of the liberties of mankind againſt tyranny and oppreſſion; expreſſing no favourable opinion of the ſincerity of ſome of the enemies to it. "As "bad an argument, *ſays he*, as ſucceſs is of a "good cauſe, I am ſorry to ſay it, but I am "afraid it is true, it is like in the concluſion to "prove the beſt argument of all others to con"vince thoſe, who have ſo long pretended con"ſcience againſt ſubmiſſion to the preſent go"vernment. Mere ſucceſs, *adds he*, is certainly "one of the worſt arguments in the world of a "good cauſe, and the moſt improper to ſatisfy "conſcience. And yet we find by experience, "that in the iſſue it is the moſt ſucceſsful of "all other arguments, and does in a very odd "but effectual way ſatisfy the conſciences of a "great many men by ſhewing them their inte-

"reſt." This paſſage highly enrag'd Dr. HICKES [q], as well as the compliments to King WILLIAM, in which there is one inſtance of falſe eloquence unuſual in his Grace's writings. It is that, where taking notice of LEWIS XIV's unprincely manner of inſulting over King WILLIAM, when he believed him to have been ſlain at the *Boyne*, he adds, that "no mortal man ever had "his ſhoulder ſo *kindly kiſs'd* by a cannon bul-"let:" an expreſſion, which gave Dr. SOUTH, no friend to him or his memory, the advantage of animadverting upon it as *a peculiar ſtrain of rhetoric* [r].

The King having eſcaped the moſt imminent danger in the battle of *Landen* in *July* 1693 againſt Marſhal LUXEMBOURG, in which the Earl of *Portland* was wounded, the Archbiſhop took the firſt opportunity of writing to his Lordſhip the following letter [s].

Auguſt 1, 1692.

"My Lord,

"I Cannot forbear on this great occaſion to "congratulate the King's ſafety and merciful "preſervation from the many deaths, to which "his royal perſon was ſo eminently expoſed in "the late bloody engagement. I thank GOD "from my heart, who protected him in that "day of danger, and likewiſe preſerved your "Lordſhip's life, which had been ſo lately re-"ſtored. I hope the wound your Lordſhip "received is not dangerous, and that it may be "healed without loſing the uſe of your hand.

"We

[q] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 56, 58.
[r] Dr. SOUTH's ſermons, *vol.* III. *p.* 570. *Edit.* 1698.
[s] From his draught in ſhort-hand.

" We have got but a very imperfect account of " the iſſue of the whole action, and what has " happened ſince, having received no letters of " a later date than the morning after the fight, " by reaſon of contrary winds.

" I did not intend to have troubled your " Lordſhip about ſo ſmall a matter, as I am " going to mention. I have heard it from ſo " many hands, that I think myſelf oblig'd to " rectify the miſtake, becauſe tho' the thing, " which is ſaid, be true, I doubt the occaſion of " it has been miſrepreſented to his Majeſty. " The thing was thus. The Maſter of *Stairs* " ſhewed me a draught of the *Scots* bill of com- " prehenſion, telling me, that by this act the " Epiſcopal miniſters were required to own the " Preſbyterian government as the *only* govern- " ment. I aſked him, if no other words were " added to qualify that clauſe; viz. *as the only* " *government of* this *church*, or *eſtabliſh'd by law?* " He ſaid, No. Then I aſk'd, if the bill was " *ſo* paſs'd. He ſaid, it was *ſo* paſs'd the com- " mittee of the houſe. I told him, I did not " believe, when it was brought into the houſe, " it would paſs there: But I was ſure the King " would never conſent to have that clauſe, with- " out ſome other words to explain it, *as the* only " *government of this church*, or the like; and " then the bill would not be a bill of compre- " henſion, but of excluſion. This was what " paſſed between the Maſter of *Stairs* and my- " ſelf; and if he has repreſented this matter " any otherwiſe to his Majeſty, he has uſed me " very ill. I intreat your Lordſhip to ſet his " Majeſty right in this matter.

" I pray GOD ſtill to preſerve his ſacred per-
" ſon, and make him victorious. I ſhall be glad
" to hear of your Lordſhip's perfect recovery,
" who am with the trueſt eſteem and reſpect,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful

" and humble ſervant,

" J. C."

This letter, as well as his Grace's known moderation and tenderneſs in matters of conſcience, will be a ſufficient vindication of him from a memorandum pretended to be found in the ſtudy of the Rev^d. Mr. CREECH, the tranſlator and editor of LUCRETIUS, at the auction of his books in *Oxford*[t]. The ſubſtance of it was, that " whatever ſteps were taken, and all that was " done for the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, and ſub-" verſion of the church of *Scotland*, was done " by the contrivance, advice, and approbation " of Dr. TILLOTSON;" the writer of this memorandum adding, " This I had from JOHNSON, " who was certain of, and knew the whole " matter, when I was down in the North." But for a fuller vindication of his Grace from this charge, it will be neceſſary to trace back the real cauſes of the abolition of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, which were intirely foreign to any influence or interpoſition of the Archbiſhop, if he had been inclined to it; whereas on the contrary he appears to have endeavour'd the mitigation of all ſevere impoſitions upon the Epiſcopal clergy in that kingdom. And in fact the true reaſon of the deſtruction

[t] Life of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, *p.* 3. and 53.

deſtruction of Epiſcopacy there after the revolution is to be imputed to the conduct of the Biſhops themſelves both previous and ſubſequent to it. They had rendered themſelves univerſally obnoxious as the immediate creatures of the court of King JAMES, and had written to him a letter of abhorrence of the intended expedition of the Prince of *Orange*, dated at *Edinburgh November* 3, 1688, and filled with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of promoting in all his Majeſty's ſubjects *an intrepid and ſtedfaſt allegiance* to him, *as an eſſential part of their religion, and of the glory*, add they, *of our holy profeſſion*. The Epiſcopal party indeed ſent up Dr. SCOT, Dean of *Glaſgow*, in *February* $168\frac{8}{9}$ to the Prince of *Orange*, who aſſured them of all poſſible favour, if they ſhould concur with the new ſettlement of *Scotland*. But being poſſeſſed by the Earl of *Dundee* with the opinion of a reſtoration of King JAMES, they adher'd ſo ſtrongly to his intereſt, that it was not poſſible for King WILLIAM to preſerve Epiſcopacy; all thoſe, who declared themſelves his friends, being equally zealous againſt that form of church-government; which was accordingly aboliſh'd by an act of the *Scots* Parliament on the 22d of *July* 1689 [u].

The ſtate of that kingdom, in the beginning of the year $169\frac{1}{2}$, was repreſented to the King in a paper delivered to him by the Lord Viſcount TARBOT, who had been much truſted and employed in *Scotland* by King CHARLES II. and his ſucceſſor, as he was afterwards by Queen ANNE, who made him Earl of *Cromarty* and Secretary of ſtate. This paper was tranſcrib'd

[u] KENNET, *vol.* III. *p.* 555, 572, 575. and BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 23.

by the Archbiſhop in ſhort-hand in his Common-place-book, with a remark of his own at the end of it, that it "ſeemed to contain the moſt "likely propoſal for an agreement to be conde-"ſcended to on both ſides [the Epiſcopalians "and Preſbyterians] that had yet been offer'd."

A copy of the Lord TARBOT's paper given in by him to the King.

"*January* 1ſt 1691.

"*Orkney*, *Caithneſs*, *Roſs*, *Murray*, *Aberdeen*, "*Brechin*, *Dunkeld*, and the greateſt part of "*Dumblain*, are provinces [w], where the Miniſters "are good men, and well-beloved of the people, "and have owned their Majeſties government, "are ready to own the confeſſion of faith; and "many of them have already addreſſed upon "the King's laſt letter: And it will moſt cer-"tainly diſſatisfy all thoſe provinces, if their "Miniſters be not *aſſumed*. In all the reſt of the "provinces in the South and Weſt, moſt of the "Epiſcopal clergy are [x] already depoſed. The "few, that are left, are very well loved by the "people. The Preſbyteries of *Dunbar*, and "*Haddingtown* in *Louthian*, and *Dumferline* in "*Fife*, and Preſbyteries of *Sterline*, have excel-"lent Miniſters, and loved by their people.— "May it not pleaſe *all*, that the Miniſters of the "Northern provinces be *aſſumed*; and in the "South only thoſe few of the aforeſaid 4 Preſ-"byteries (which in all will not amount to 30 "miniſters) and no more be aſſumed at this "time?

[w] *Scotland* divided into two parts, one North, *&c.* which contain together 35 provinces.

[x] Since the year 1690, the Epiſcopaliſts have loſt all places and preferments.

" time?——That a commiſſion be appointed to " wait on the King's commiſſioner for reviewing " all proceſſes complained of; and to report to " the next general aſſembly, whether the com- " plaints be from Miniſters or pariſhes.——To " prohibit all commiſſions of the general aſſem- " bly, as dangerous, and not conſiſtent with the " forms of Preſbytery.——To haſten the cloſe " of the aſſembly, and to appoint a new one to " a long day; with a clauſe, unleſs his Majeſty " ſees fit to call it ſooner, *pro re natâ*.——To " recommend it to the commiſſioner and com- " miſſion, the particular and notable caſes com- " plained of to their Majeſties."

In the Parliament of *Scotland* held in 1693 by the Duke of *Hamilton* as the King's commiſſioner, the bill of comprehenſion, mentioned in the Archbiſhop's letter to the Earl of *Portland*, was firſt framed in the manner ſhewn him by Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, then Maſter, and afterwards Earl of *Stairs*, who had been made Secretary of ſtate for that kingdom in 1690, but was remov'd from that poſt in 1695 for his concern in the maſſacre at *Glencoe*. The Archbiſhop being offended with the rigour of this teſt, endeavoured to ſoften it; and in his Common-place-book are theſe two draughts.

The teſt of the Miniſters, that are to be admitted, as it was *firſt* propoſed.

" I *A. B.* do ſincerely declare and promiſe, " that I will own and ſubmit to the preſent " Preſbyterian government of the church, as it " is now by law eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, " under their Majeſties King WILLIAM and

" Queen MARY. And that I will heartily con-
" cur with, and under it, for the ſuppreſſion of
" ſin and wickedneſs, the promoting of piety,
" and the purging of the church of all erroneous
" and ſcandalous Miniſters. And that I do alſo
" aſſent and conſent to the confeſſion of faith,
" and to the larger and ſhorter catechiſms, now
" confirm'd by act of Parliament, as the ſtand-
" ard of the Proteſtant religion in this kingdom."

This teſt may be mollified in this form, if it be thought fit.

" I *A. B.* do ſincerely declare and promiſe,
" that I will ſubmit to the Preſbyterian govern-
" ment of the church, as it is now by law
" eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, under their Ma-
" jeſties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, by
" Preſbyteries, provincial ſynods, and a general
" aſſembly; and that I will, as becomes a Mi-
" niſter of the Goſpel, heartily concur with the
" ſaid government for the ſuppreſſing of ſin and
" wickedneſs, the promoting of piety, and
" purging the church of erroneous and ſcanda-
" lous Miniſters. And I do further promiſe,
" that I will ſubſcribe the confeſſion of faith,
" and the larger and ſhorter catechiſms, now
" confirmed by act of Parliament, as containing
" the doctrine of the Proteſtant religion pro-
" feſſed in this kingdom."

But notwithſtanding the unuſual terms of moderation, to which Preſbyterians in *Scotland* were brought, with regard to the Epiſcopal clergy, yet the latter refus'd both them and the oaths to the government [y].

The

[y] BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 121, 122.

The marriage of Lady RUSSEL's ſecond daughter, CATHERINE, to JOHN Lord Ross, afterwards Duke of *Rutland*, on the 17th of *Auguſt* 1693, gave occaſion to the following [z] letter of congratulation from the Archbiſhop to her Ladyſhip.

" *Lambeth-Houſe, Aug.* 26, 1693.

" Madam,

" THO' no body rejoices more than myſelf " in the happineſs of your Ladyſhip and " your children, yet in the hurry, in which you " muſt needs have been, I could not think it fit " to give you the diſturbance ſo much as of a " letter, which otherwiſe had both in friendſhip " and good manners been due upon this great " occaſion. But now that buſy time is in a " good meaſure over, I cannot forbear, after ſo " many, as, I am ſure, have been before me, " to congratulate with your Ladyſhip this happy " match of your daughter; for ſo I heartily " pray it may prove, and have great reaſon to " believe it will, becauſe I cannot but look upon " it as part of the comfort and reward of your " patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of GOD, " under the ſoreſt and moſt heavy affliction, that " could have befallen you; and when GOD " ſends and intends a bleſſing, it ſhall have no " ſorrow or evil with it.

" I intreat my Lord Ross and his Lady to " accept of my humble ſervice, and my hearty " wiſhes of great and laſting happineſs.

" My poor wife is at preſent very ill, which " goes very near me. And having ſaid this, I " know

[z] From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the late Biſhop of *London*.

" know we ſhall have your prayers. I intreat " you to give my very humble ſervice to my " Lord of *Bedford*, my Lord RUSSEL, and to " my Lord CAVENDISH and his Lady. I could " upon ſeveral accounts be melancholy, but I " will not upon ſo joyful an occaſion. I pray " GOD to preſerve and bleſs your Ladyſhip and " all the good family at *Woburn*, and to make " us all concern'd to prepare ourſelves with the " greateſt care for a better life. I am with all " true reſpect and eſteem, Madam,

" Your Ladyſhip's moſt faithful

" and moſt humble ſervant,

" JO. CANT."

His Grace wrote likewiſe to her Ladyſhip another letter [a] in *October* following, in anſwer to one, which her friendſhip for him and concern for his wife's indiſpoſition had drawn from her, notwithſtanding a diſorder in her eyes, which had long troubled her, and threatned a total failure of ſight, which befel her in the latter years of her life. This letter of his ſhews, that his own integrity had not prevented him from the diſagreeable conviction of the great want of ſincerity in what he calls *the upper part of the world.*

" *Lambeth-Houſe, October* 13, 1693.

" I Have forborn, Madam, hitherto, even to " acknowledge the receipt of your Lady- " ſhip's letter, and your kind concernment for " mine and my wife's health, becauſe I ſaw how " un-

[a] From a copy in the poſſeſſion of the late Biſhop of *London.*

" unmerciful you were to your eyes in your laſt " letter to me, ſo that I ſhould certainly have " repented the provocation I gave you to it by " mine, had not ſo great and good an occaſion " made it neceſſary.

" I had intended this morning to have ſent " Mr. VERNON to *Woburn* to have inquired of " your Ladyſhip's health, having but newly " heard, that ſince your return from *Belvoir* a " dangerous fever had ſeized upon you. But " yeſterday morning at council I happily met " with Mr. RUSSEL, who to my great joy told " me, that he hoped that danger was over; for " which I thank GOD with all my heart, becauſe " I did not know how fatal the event might be " after the care and hurry you had been in, and " in ſo ſickly a ſeaſon.

" The King's return is now only hindered by " contrary winds, I pray GOD to ſend him ſafe " to us, and to direct him what to do when he " is come. I was never ſo much at my wit's " end concerning the public. GOD can only " bring us out of the labyrinth we are in, and " I truſt he will.

" My wife gives her moſt humble ſervice and " thanks to you for your concernment for her, " and does rejoice equally with me for the good " news of your recovery.

" Never ſince I knew the world, had I ſo " much reaſon to value my friends. In the " condition I now am, I can have no new ones, " or, if I could, I can have no aſſurance, that " they are ſo. I could not at a diſtance believe, " that the upper end of the world was ſo hollow " as I find it. I except a very few, of whom I " can believe no ill, till I plainly ſee it.

" I

" I have ever earneſtly coveted your letters; " but now I do as earneſtly beg of you to ſpare " them for my ſake, as well as your own.

" With my very humble ſervice to my good " Lord of *Bedford*, and to all yours, and my " hearty prayers to GOD for you all, I remain, " Madam,

" Your Ladyſhip's moſt obliged
" and obedient ſervant,
" JO. CANT."

The death of his predeceſſor Archbiſhop SANCROFT, on the 24th of *November* 1693, was ſoon followed by a panegyric upon the deceas'd Prelate, intitled, *A letter out of* Suffolk *to a friend in* London [b], intermix'd with many ſevere reflections upon Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, by way of pretended contraſt to SANCROFT. It is remark'd there [c], that while the former ſat in the chair, there was *no under-hand trucking with* Socinians, *or others out of the communion of the church of* England; " that he was never at the " bottom of any project to give up the liturgy, " the rights and ceremonies of the church; for " alas! quite contrary to modern policy, he " thought, that the beſt way to preſerve a " ſociety had been in keeping ſtedfaſtly to all " the terms of it. . . He had not that *latitude* " of principle to ſacrifice the church out of ſe- " cular intrigues and politics, and to deliver up " the mounds and fences of it to a party, which " had been endeavouring the deſtruction of it for " a hundred years and more, and who once had " effectually ruined her. When he had favour " at

[b] Printed at *London* in 1694 in 4to. [c] *P.* 11.

" at court, and was able to recommend a perſon
" to the higheſt offices in the church, it was
" never his cuſtom to lay aſide, or poſtpone,
" the moſt worthy and able men, and firm to
" the conſtitution of the church, and to make
" uſe of his intereſt to advance a ſort of men,
" who are equally principled for *Geneva* as for
" *England*, or for any conſtitution beſides; who
" were never true nor honeſt to the church in
" their inferior changes, and who are far better
" qualified to betray than to ſupport her. In
" fine, when he was poſſeſs'd of the revenues
" belonging to his church, he never made it his
" buſineſs to deſtroy and plunder it, by cutting
" down the timber upon little pretences, and
" then putting the money into his own pocket.
" Upon the whole, he was a *true father*; the
" intereſts of the church were his own; and he
" ſpent himſelf in preſerving her honour, rites,
" and revenues: Whereas it hath been long ago
" obſerved, that an *intruder* is always a *ſtep-*
" *father*, who ſpins out the bowels of the
" church, and fattens himſelf with her blood;
" who having *no legal right* and foundation, is
" for compounding with religion, and bartering
" the ſecurities of the church to ſupport himſelf,
" and uphold the injuſtice of his own tenure.
" And this obſervation is ſo true, that it hath
" never yet failed in any one inſtance. He, that
" came into the church a *thief* and a *robber*, hath
" always continued ſo; and from the beginning
" of the church to this very day, there hath
" not been one *eccleſiaſtical uſurper*, but who, in
" one or more inſtances, hath pawned ſome-
" thing of religion to gain an acceſſion to his
" party, and to ſecure and ſtrengthen his un-

" righteous poſſeſſion " The writer of this *letter* afterwards affirms [d], that the deceas'd Archbiſhop had left behind him very few, who in that degenerate age were likely to equal his virtues, or to come near them by many degrees; " and none leſs, *ſays he*, than *him*, *who ſits in* " *his chair*, and ſome others, who fill the Sees " of our depriv'd Biſhops." And he adds [e], that Archbiſhop SANCROFT being forced to leave *Lambeth*, " he did not leave his virtues behind " him to be poſſeſs'd by the *next comer*, (and if " this needs to be prov'd, we have ocular de- " monſtration) but they follow'd his perſon in " all fortunes and places; and we had a moſt " reverend Archbiſhop at *Freſingfield*, when there " was none at *Lambeth*, nor nothing like it." Such was the language of the Nonjuring party concerning the two Archbiſhops, canonizing the one, while they ſcrupled no topic of invective againſt the other, though with ſo little ground of truth or ſhadow of probability, that it is abſolutely unneceſſary to make particular remarks upon their libels againſt him.

In the few moments of leiſure, which his elevated ſtation left him, he revis'd his ſermons, and publiſhed in 1693 four of them *concerning the divinity and incarnation of our bleſſed Saviour*: The true reaſon of which, as the reader is inform'd in a ſhort advertiſement prefix'd to them, was not that, which is commonly alleg'd for printing books, the importunity of friends, but the importunate clamours and calumnies of others, whom he heartily prayed GOD to forgive, and to give them better minds.

Theſe

[d] *P.* 20. [e] *P.* 26.

Theſe ſermons had been preach'd in 1679 and 1680 at his Lecture at *St. Lawrence Jewry*, and the publication was deſign'd not only to remove the imputation rais'd by the Papiſts, and adopted by a party oppoſite to him, of his being a Socinian[f], but likewiſe for the ſatisfaction of his friend Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN. This public-ſpirited and charitable man, who is mentioned by the Archbiſhop in his funeral ſermon upon Mr. GOUGE as *a worthy and uſeful citizen*, was a native of *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, where he was born in 1632, and having ſerved an apprenticeſhip with a maſter, who was a hearer of Mr. JOHN GOODWIN of *Coleman-Street*, he firſt abandoned the principles of CALVIN for thoſe of ARMINIUS, and afterwards adopted thoſe of the *Unitarians* from his converſation with Mr. JOHN BIDDLE[g], who had been impriſoned in *December* 1645, for publiſhing his thoughts upon the ſubject of the Trinity, and in danger of ſuffering death for them in 1648, thro' the zeal of the aſſembly of Divines, and was confined ſeveral years in the iſland of *Scilly*[h]. Mr. FIRMIN's zeal for his inſtructor was ſo great, that he ventured, while he was only an apprentice, to deliver a petition for his releaſe out of *Newgate* to OLIVER CROMWELL, who gave him this ſhort anſwer; "You curl-pate boy you, do you think I'll "ſhew any favour to a man, that denies his "Saviour, and diſturbs the government[i]?" Mr. FIRMIN ſoon became a conſiderable trader in *London*, by which he might have acquired a very large fortune, if he had not been conſtantly employed

[f] BURNET's reflections, *p.* 105.
[g] Life of Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN, *p.* 5—10.
[h] WOOD.Ath. Oxon. *vol.* II. *col.* 304.
[i] KENNET's regiſter and chronicle, *p.* 761.

ployed in all conceivable methods of ſerving the public, which gained him an univerſal eſteem, and particularly with the moſt eminent of the Clergy, though his peculiar notions were well known. And his charity was ſo unconfin'd and impartial, that he began to exert himſelf in collecting money for the depriv'd Nonjurors, upon the foot of a ſcheme drawn up by Mr. KETTLEWELL, till he was deterred from proceeding in it by ſome of his great friends, who told him, that this ſcheme was illegal, being calculated for the ſupport of the enemies of the government [k]. He died on the 20th of *December* 1697, in the 66th year of his age, being attended in his laſt illneſs by his intimate friend Dr. EDWARD FOWLER, who had been advanc'd to the See of *Gloceſter* in *July* 1691 [l]. His underſtanding and knowledge were very remarkable, but he was intirely ignorant of the learned languages, and the ſchool logic and philoſophy [m]. His hypotheſis with reſpect to the Trinity was that of ARIUS, tho' he was commonly ſtiled a Socinian; and he was an induſtrious propagator of the books, publiſhed in favour of his own opinions after the revolution [n].

The Archbiſhop having ſent him one of the firſt copies of his *four ſermons* from the preſs, Mr. FIRMIN not being convinced by them, cauſed a reſpectful anſwer to be drawn up and publiſh'd in 1694 in 4to, under the title of *Conſiderations on the explications of the doctrine of the Trinity*; in which his Grace is ſtiled *the common father of the nation*, and acknowledg'd to have "inſtruc-"ted the Socinians themſelves with the air and "lan-

[k] Life of Mr. KETTLEWELL, *p.* 420, 421.
[l] Life, *p.* 82, 83.
[m] Ibid. *p.* 15.
[n] BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 211, 212.

" language of a father, not of an adverſary or " judge;" and that they were " concern'd for " their own reputation to reverence his perſon " and admonitions, becauſe it is agreed among " all good men, or that but profeſs to be ſuch, " that he is reſpected and loved by all but thoſe, " that are alſo known to hate their country; " and hath no other maligners, but the ene- " mies of the nation itſelf." A copy of theſe *conſiderations* was given by Mr. FIRMIN to his Grace, who having read them over, only ſaid to him, " My Lord of *Sarum* ſhall humble your " writers." But he never expreſs'd afterwards the leaſt coldneſs to that gentleman on account of that anſwer, to whom he had before declar'd, upon the publication of his *four ſermons*, that he was oblig'd by the calumnies of people to publiſh them; and that what he now printed was what he thought at the time of preaching them, and continued to think; but that no falſe imputations ſhould provoke him to give ill language to perſons, who diſſented conſcientiouſly, and for weighty reaſons; which he knew well to be the caſe of the Socinians, for whoſe learning and dexterity he ſhould always have a reſpect, as well as for their ſincerity and exemplarineſs [o]. Theſe *conſiderations* did not long continue without a reply; for Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, wrote the ſame year a *vindication* of the Archbiſhop's *four ſermons*, and of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s *Sermon on the myſteries of the Chriſtian faith*. The *imprimatur* to it is dated *November* 17th 1694, the day before the Arch-

[o] Life of Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN, late Citizen of *London*. Written by one of his moſt intimate acquaintance, *p.* 15, 16, 17. *Edit.* London 1698.

Archbiſhop was ſiez'd with his laſt illneſs; but it was not publiſh'd till 1695 in 4to, with a dedication to JAMES CHADWICK, Eſq; his Grace's ſon-in-law; in which Dr. WILLIAMS obſerves, that it was not without the Archbiſhop's direction and encouragement, that he entered upon that work; and that had he lived to have peruſed the whole, as he did a part of it a few days before his laſt hours, *it had come with greater advantage into the world, as having paſs'd the trial of that exact and impartial judgment, which he was wont to exerciſe in matters of this nature.* To this piece is ſubjoin'd a letter to the author from Dr. BURNET Biſhop of *Sarum*, dated at *Weſtminſter* 2d of *February* 169⅘, in which he ſpeaks with great contempt and ſeverity of the late pieces publiſhed in *England* in defence of the *Unitarian* principles.

But how little ſoever the Archbiſhop was thought by the Socinians themſelves a friend to their notions, and tho' they publiſhed a confutation of his *four ſermons* againſt them, yet theſe very ſermons were urg'd by his enemies to ſupport the imputation of Socinianiſm, with which he had been loaded. For in 1695 there was publiſhed in 4to, ſaid to be printed at *Edinburgh*, a piece intitled, *The charge of Socinianiſm againſt* Dr. TILLOTSON *conſidered, in examination of ſome ſermons he has lately publiſhed on purpoſe to clear himſelf from that imputation. By way of dialogue between* F. *a Friend of Dr.* T's, *and* C. *a Catholic Chriſtian. To which is added ſome reflections upon the ſecond of Dr.* BURNET's four diſcourſes concerning the divinity and death of Chriſt, *printed in* 1694. *To which is likewiſe annex'd a ſupplement upon occaſion of a* Hiſtory of religion *lately publiſhed,*

publiſhed, ſuppoſed to be wrote by Sir R. H——D. *Wherein likewiſe* CHARLES BLOUNT's great DIANA *is conſidered; and both compared with Dr.* TILLOTSON's *ſermons. By a true ſon of the church.* The whole performance, which the writer declares in his preface to have been written before the Archbiſhop's death, is written in a ſtyle of invective and ſcurrility, as unſuitable to the diſcuſſion of a queſtion of religion, as to the character of the perſon, againſt whom it is levelled. It aſſerts [p], that his Grace's ſermons "are all "the genuine effects of *Hobbiſm*, which looſens "the notions of religion, takes from it all that "is ſpiritual, ridicules whatever is called *ſuper-*"*natural*; it reduces *God* to *matter*, and *religion* "to *nature*. In this ſchool Dr. T. has theſe "many years held the firſt form, and now diſ-"fuſes his poiſon from a high ſtation... His "politics are Leviathan, and his religion is La-"titudinarian, which is none; that is, nothing "that is *poſitive*, but againſt every thing, that "is poſitive in other religions; whereby to "reduce all religions to an uncertainty, and "determinable only by the civil power... He "is own'd by the Atheiſtical wits of all *England* "as their true Primate and Apoſtle. They "glory and rejoice in him, and make their "public boaſts of him. He leads them not "only the length of Socinianiſm (they are but "ſlender beaux have got no farther than that) "but to call in queſtion all revelation, to turn "*Geneſis*, &c. into a mere romance; to ridicule "the whole as BLOUNT, GILDON, and others of "the Doctor's diſciples have done in print." The writer proceeds in this ſtrain, aſſerting [q], that

[p] *P.* 13. [q] *P.* 16.

that a thread of *plain* and *downright Hobbiſm* runs thro' all the Archbiſhop's works, whoſe principles he ſtiles *diabolical*, and that he had by them *deeply poiſoned* the nation. Dr. HICKES was privy to the writing of this piece, for he recommended it, as what he hop'd would ſee the light before the publication of his own *Diſcourſes upon Dr.* BURNET and *Dr.* TILLOTSON.

It was replied to in *A twofold vindication of the late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and of the author of the Hiſtory of religion*; in which Dr. ALEXANDER MONRO, an eminent Nonjuring divine, formerly Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*, and author of a very good volume of ſermons printed at *London* in 1693, and of *A letter to a gentleman upon occaſion of ſome new opinions in religion*, printed in 1696 in 4to, being conſider'd as the writer of *The charge of Socinianiſm againſt Dr.* TILLOTSON, he publiſhed the ſame year 1696, *A letter to the honourable Sir* ROBERT HOWARD, denying his having had any concern in that piece, or having ſeen it till after it was printed; to which purpoſe he had publiſhed an advertiſement in *January* that year; and he affirms[s], that the real author of *the charge* was never in *Scotland*, tho' in the title-page it is pretended to have been printed at *Edinburgh*. And indeed it is now known to have been the production of that voluminous polemical writer, Mr. CHARLES LESLEY, a man of ſome learning and wit, but accompanied with a vein of ſcurrility, that muſt render his writings in general diſguſtful to the preſent age and poſterity, however applauded in his own time, and by his own party. He was ſon of Dr. JOHN LESLEY Biſhop of

[r] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 53, 54. [s] *P.* 9.

of *Clogher*, and in 1687 was made Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Connor* in *Ireland*, the year before the revolution; and tho' a declar'd enemy to it afterwards, is ſaid to have been the firſt, who began the war in *Ireland* againſt JAMES II. affirming in a ſpeech ſolemnly made, that he, by declaring himſelf a Papiſt, could no longer be King, ſince he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our church; dignities ſo inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of theſe, could not hold it: and as he animated the people with this ſpeech, ſo ſome actions followed under his conduct, in which ſeveral men were kill'd[t]. He died in *Ireland* in *March* 172½.

The Archbiſhop's concern for inculcating the principles of ſtedfaſtneſs in religion, and the private and domeſtic duties of it, with the advantages of early piety, and a right education of children, engag'd his Grace to publiſh in 1694 ſix ſermons upon thoſe ſubjects, which had been preach'd by him in the church of *St. Laurence Jewry*. In the preface he expreſſes his hope, that he ſhould for the remainder of his life be releas'd from *that irkſome and unpleaſant work of controverſy and wrangling about religion*, and his reſolution of turning his thoughts to ſomething more agreeable to his temper, and of a more direct and immediate tendency to the promoting of true religion, to the happineſs of human ſociety, and the reformation of the world; being ſenſible, how faſt the infirmities of age were coming upon him. "I knew very well, *adds* "*he, with his uſual modeſty*, before I entered "upon this great and weighty charge, my own "mani-

[t] BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 538.

" manifold defects, and how unequal my beſt " abilities were for the due diſcharge of it: " But I did not feel this ſo ſenſibly, as I now " do every day more and more. And there- " fore, that I might make ſome ſmall amends " for great failings, I knew not how better to " place the broken hours I had to ſpare from " almoſt perpetual buſineſs of one kind or other, " than in preparing ſomething for the public, " that might be of uſe to recover the decayed " piety and virtue of the preſent age, in which " iniquity doth ſo much abound, and the love " of GOD and religion is grown ſo cold."

The laſt ſermon, which his Grace preach'd before their Majeſties, was on the 25th of *February* $169\frac{3}{4}$ at *Whitehall* on *Titus* iii. 2. *againſt evil ſpeaking*; which was not publiſh'd till the year after his death, together with that on *a heavenly converſation*.

The death of Dr. JOHN CONANT, Rector of *Exeter-College* in *Oxford*, Prebendary of *Worceſter*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, and author of ſeveral volumes publiſh'd by Biſhop WILLIAMS, gave the Archbiſhop in 1694 an opportunity of ſhewing his regard for that judicious Divine, Mr. JOHN JEFFERY, ſoon after Doctor of divinity, by collating him to that Archdeaconry, which was his Grace's option, on Biſhop MORE's promotion to that See, and had been given to Dr. CONANT in *June* 1676 by Biſhop REYNOLDS, whoſe daughter the Doctor had married. Mr. JEFFERY was born at *Ipſwich December* 20, 1647, and educated at *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge* under Dr. JOHN ECHARD, the celebrated author of *The grounds and reaſons of the contempt of the Clergy*, and the *Dialogues be-*

tween PHILAUTUS *and* TIMOTHY, the pleaſantry of which, levell'd againſt Mr. HOBBES's opinions, ſo much diſconcerted the gravity of that ſevere Philoſopher. From the Curacy of *Dennington* in *Suffolk*, which he had ſerv'd for ſome years, he was choſen in 1678 Miniſter of *St. Peter's* of *Mancroft* in *Norwich*. Here he contracted a friendſhip with Sir EDWARD ATKYNS [u], Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, who then ſpent the long vacations in that city. By this gentleman he was carried to *London*, and introduc'd there to the acquaintance of ſeveral eminent men, and particularly the Archbiſhop, then Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, who often engag'd Mr. JEFFERY to preach for him there, and was probably the means of making him known to Dr. WHICHCOT, three volumes of whoſe ſermons were afterwards publiſh'd by Mr. JEFFERY. And it is not to be doubted, but that if his Grace had lived much longer, he would have raiſed the Archdeacon to a more conſpicuous ſtation in the church [w]; whoſe learning, piety, and thorough knowledge of the true principles of Chriſtianity would have adorn'd the higheſt, and are a ſufficient recommendation of his writings lately col-

[u] Sir EDWARD ATKYNS had been long a moſt intimate friend of the Archbiſhop, as appears from a paſſage in the *Life of Mr.* ISAAC MILLES, *Rector of* Highcleer *in* Hampſhire, publiſh'd in 1721 in 8vo by his ſon, Dr. THOMAS MILLES, Biſhop of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, who mentions, *p.* 33. that Mr. MILLES being introduc'd by Sir EDWARD to Mr. TILLOTSON, at *Barley* in *Hertfordſhire*, diſcerned in him during the little converſation, which he then had with him, ſuch an *openneſs* and *clearneſs*, ſuch a *civility* and *obligingneſs of deportment*, as he never found in any other man.

[w] Memoirs of the life of Dr. JEFFERY, *prefix'd to* A complete collection of his ſermons and tracts, *in two volumes* *London* 1751 in 8vo.

lected and republiſhed in a manner, that does juſtice both to his memory and the public.

In the beginning of the ſame year 1694 Mr. JOHN STRYPE, who had before diſtinguiſh'd himſelf as Editor of the ſecond volume of Dr. JOHN LIGHTFOOT's works, having now finiſh'd the impreſſion of the *Life of Archbiſhop* CRANMER in folio, addreſſed it to the Archbiſhop in a modeſt dedication, in which he takes notice, that his Grace's "deſerts towards this church and the "reformation, had rais'd him to ſit in Arch-"biſhop CRANMER's chair, tho' with as much "reluctancy, *ſays he*, in you, as was in him." And in his preface, dated at *Low-Layton September* 29, 1693, he mentions his obligations to his Grace, as well as to his predeceſſor, for the uſe of the manuſcripts in the library at *Lambeth*. This honeſt and induſtrious writer was deſcended of a *German* family, but born at *London*, and educated at *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Maſter of arts, in which he was incorporated at *Oxford July* 11, 1671. He was at firſt Rector of *Theydon-Boys* in *Eſſex*, which he was collated to in *July* 1669, and reſign'd in *February* following, for the Vicarage of *Low-Layton* in the ſame county. Beſides which he had a conſiderable ſine-cure given him by Archbiſhop TENNISON, and was Lecturer of *Hackney* near *London*, where he died at the houſe of Mr. HARRIS an Apothecary, who married his grand-daughter, on the 13th of *December* 1737, at an uncommon age, having enjoy'd his Rectory near ſixty-eight years. He kept an exact diary of his own life, which was ſhewn me not long before his death by Mr. HARRIS; and ſeem'd to contain many curious circumſtances relating

relating to the literary hiſtory of his times, as he was engag'd in a frequent correſpondence, eſpecially by letters, with Archbiſhop WAKE, and the Biſhops, BURNET, NICHOLSON, and ATTERBURY, and other eminent perſons. His fidelity and induſtry will always give a value to his numerous writings, however deſtitute of the graces and even uniformity of ſtyle, and the art of connecting facts.

The Archbiſhop's correſpondence with Lady RUSSEL had been interrupted on her part for many months, by the diſorder in her eyes increaſing to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was oblig'd on the 27th of *June* 1694 to ſubmit to the operation of couching. Upon this occaſion his Grace drew up a prayer two days after, in which * he touch'd upon the death of her huſband, " whom thy " holy and righteous providence, *ſays he*, per- " mitted under *a colour of law and juſtice to be* " *unjuſtly cut off from the land of the living:*" but over theſe latter words, after the firſt writing, he drew a line, as intending to eraſe them, probably from a reflection, that they might be too ſtrong, or leſs ſuitable to a prayer.

The day before the compoſing of this prayer, he wrote a letter to the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* upon the following occaſion. Upon the nomination of the Biſhop to that See, a few days after their Majeſties advancement to the throne, he met with ſome difficulties with reſpect to his conſecration. For when his election was returned and confirm'd, the precept for his conſecration went in courſe to Archbiſhop SANCROFT, who declared, that he would not obey it. Some of the Biſhops tried to perſuade him, but in vain. The

* Enter'd in ſhort-hand in his Common-place-book.

The Earl of *Nottingham* likewiſe tried, but ſucceeded no better. The party, who were enemies to the revolution, had got it among them, that he had promiſed them not to do it. But as the time came on, and he ſaw, that he muſt be ſued in a *præmunire*, he of a ſudden ordered two commiſſions to be drawn; both which he ſign'd and ſeal'd, one directed to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and all the Biſhops of *England*; the other to all the Biſhops of the province, to execute his metropolitical authority during pleaſure. The latter was made uſe of, and in purſuance of it Dr. BURNET was conſecrated on the 31ſt of *May* 1689; ſo that this was as much Archbiſhop SANCROFT's own act, as if he himſelf had conſecrated the new Biſhop, and he authorized others to do what he ſeemed himſelf to think unlawful. His Vicar-General produced this commiſſion, and was preſent at the conſecration, and all the fees were paid to his officers. But the Nonjuring party complaining of this, in order to give them ſome ſatisfaction, the Archbiſhop ſent by Mr. HENRY WHARTON a meſſage (unleſs the latter went in his name without order) to Mr. TILLOT the Regiſter, to ſend him that commiſſion; which being accordingly ſent, it was withdrawn. This violation of a public regiſter depriv'd the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* of an inſtrument of the utmoſt importance to him, ſince the canonicalneſs of his conſecration, and his legal right to his Biſhopric, depended upon it. Thus it continued till many months after the depriv'd Archbiſhop's death, when notice was given the Biſhop of it by one, who had occaſion to know it; and upon inquiry his Lordſhip found it true, and accordingly took advice upon it; and what the Archbiſhop's

biſhop's was is evident from the following letter to the Biſhop [y].

Lambeth-houſe, June 28. 1694.

" My Lord,

" SUPPOSING your Lordſhip by this " time to be return'd from your viſitation, " this, I hope, will find you at *Saliſbury*.

" I have heard no return from *Suffolk* con- " cerning the commiſſion, that was withdrawn. " Dr. Oxenden tells me, the proper method " to diſcover the truth of this matter will be, " by bill in Chancery, to bring Mr. William " Sancroft, the late Archbiſhop's nephew, " and Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Tillot, upon " their oaths to diſcover their knowledge; and " if the commiſſion cannot be found, then to " have the conſecration ſufficiently atteſted and " regiſter'd. To eaſe the charge, I think it fit, " that your Lordſhip take in the Biſhop of *Exe-* " *ter* [z], whoſe tranſlation is equally concern'd.

" I have read a great part of Will. Wot- " ton's book, which I think to be very extra- " ordinary both for the learning and judgment " he hath ſhewn in it, and for the manly and " decent ſtyle and manner of writing hardly to " be parallel'd by any thing, that hath been pro- " duc'd in this age by one of his years. This, " I believe, will not be unwelcome to your " Lordſhip, who had ſo great a hand in form- " ing this great young man.

" Mr. Geddes's book finds a general accep- " tance and approbation. I doubt not but he " hath

[y] Communicated by the honourable Mr. Juſtice Burnet.

[z] Sir Jonathan Trelawny, who was tranſlated from the Biſhopric of *Briſtol* to that of *Exeter April* 13th 1689.

" hath more of the ſame kind, with which I
" hope he will favour the world in due time.

" I pray GOD to give you health, and to pre-
" ſerve you long for the uſe and benefit of his
" church, and for the comfort of, my Lord,

" Your affectionate friend and brother,

" JO. CANT.

" I leave all matters of news to a friend of
" yours, that hath better intelligence; only I
" cannot forbear to tell you, that my Lady
" RUSSEL's eye was couch'd yeſterday morning
" with very good ſucceſs. GOD be praiſed
" for it."

His Grace's opinion in this letter for bringing into Chancery the affair of the commiſſion, which had been withdrawn, was follow'd by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who reſolved upon having all perſons concerned in it examined upon oath, and proving the tenor of the commiſſion. His Lordſhip giving notice of his reſolution to Mr. TILLOT, the regiſter, and telling him, that if he did not recover the commiſſion before that time and *Michaelmas* term, he would ſue him in Chancery, the conſequence was, that the commiſſion was brought back [a].

Mr. WOTTON's book, mentioned in the Archbiſhop's letter, was the firſt edition of his *Reflections upon ancient and modern learning*, publiſhed in 1694 in 8vo, and dedicated to the Earl of *Nottingham*, whoſe Chaplain he was. He had been famous from his childhood for a knowledge

[a] Biſhop BURNET's reflections upon a pamphlet, intituled, *Some diſcourſes*, *p.* 22, 23, 24. and Hiſtory of his own time, *vol.* II. *p.* 8.

ledge of the languages, which few men ever attained to, being capable at five years of age of reading the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; and being ſent to *Catharine-hall* in *Cambridge*, in the beginning of *April* 1676. ſome months before he was ten years old, took the degree of Bachelor of arts in 1679 at twelve. The winter following he was invited to *London* by Dr. BURNET, then preacher at the *Rolls*, with whom he continued for ſome time, and was introduced by him to moſt of the learned men there. Not long after this he was choſen Fellow of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, and in 1683 commenc'd Maſter of arts, as he did Bachelor of divinity in 1693. He was preſented in 1691, by Dr. LLOYD Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, to the Sine-Cure of *Llandrillo* in *Denbighſhire*, vacant by the death of Dr. HENRY MAURICE; and in 1693 to the Rectory of *Middleton Keynes* in *Buckinghamſhire* by his patron the Earl of *Nottinghamſhire*. He was collated likewiſe 1705 to a Prebend of *Saliſbury* by the Biſhop, to whom he had dedicated his *Hiſtory of Rome*, publiſhed in 1701, and by whoſe direction it had been written, and intended for his Lordſhip's royal pupil the Duke of *Glouceſter*. In 1707 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of divinity by Archbiſhop TENNISON, a title, which he had merited by the many learned writings publiſhed by him. He died at *Buxted* in *Suſſex* on the 13th of *February* 1726, at the age of ſixty-one, at the houſe of his ſon-in-law Mr. WILLIAM CLARKE, now Canon-reſidentiary of *Chicheſter*.

Mr. GEDDES's firſt volume of *Miſcellaneous tracts*, which, as his Grace obſerves, met with

a *general acceptance and approbation*, deſerved it, as well as the ſubſequent volumes, on account of the many valuable pieces, which they contain, and which his long reſidence abroad enabled him to give the public. He was born in *Scotland*, and educated in the univerſity of *Edinburgh*, where the took the degree of Maſter of arts, in which he was incorporated at *Oxford* on the 11th of *July* 1671 [b]. He went to *Liſbon* in 1678 as Chaplain to the *Engliſh* factory; the exerciſe of which function giving offence to the inquiſition, he was ſent for by that court in 1686, and forbid to continue it. The merchants reſenting this violation of their privilege, wrote immediately on the 7th of *September* that year to the Biſhop of *London*, repreſenting the caſe, and their own right to a Chaplain; but before their letter reached his Lordſhip, he was ſuſpended by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. They were deprived therefore of all exerciſe of their religion till the arrival of Mr. SCARBOROUGH the *Engliſh* envoy, under whoſe character as a public miniſter they were obliged to ſhelter themſelves. Mr. GEDDES finding things in this ſituation, thought proper to return to *England* in *May* 1688; where he took the degree of Doctor of laws; and after the promotion of Dr. BURNET to the Biſhopric of *Saliſbury*, was made by him Chancellor of his church.

The good of the church, and the reformation of all abuſes among the Clergy, were the conſtant objects of the Archbiſhop's thoughts; and among other reſolutions and projects for thoſe purpoſes, which he intimated to Mr. WHARTON in a private conference with him on the 12th of

[b] WOOD Faſti Oxon. *vol.* II. *col.* 187.

of *July* 1692, one was, for obliging the Clergy to a more ſtrict obſervance of reſidence on their cures [c]. He called likewiſe not many months before his death an aſſembly of the Biſhops at his palace at *Lambeth*, where they agreed upon ſeveral important regulations; which were at firſt deſign'd to be inforced by their own authority, but upon a more mature conſideration afterwards he thought it better, that they ſhould appear under that of their Majeſties, in the form of royal injunctions. He wrote therefore the following letter to the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* [d]:

Lambeth-houſe, Aug. 31. 1694.

"My Lord,

"HAVING now an occaſion of writing, I "ſhall, notwithſtanding the proteſtation "in your laſt letter, ſay ſomething in anſwer "to it.

"My Lord Marquis of *Normanby* having "made Mr. WASELY his Chaplain, ſent Col. "FITZ-GIRALD to propoſe him for a Biſhopric "in *Ireland*, wherewith I acquainted her Maje-"ſty, who, according to her true judgment, "did by no means think it fit. Their Majeſties "have made Dr. FOLEY [e] Biſhop of *Down*, "and Dean PULLEYN [f] Biſhop of *Cloyne*.

"I

[c] M. S. Collections of Mr. WHARTON, in the library at *Lambeth*.

[d] Communicated by the honourable Mr. Juſtice BURNET.

[e] Dr. SAMUEL FOLEY born at *Clonmel* in *Tipperary*, 25 *Nov.* 1655, Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Dublin* in 1677, D. D. in 1691, and conſecrated Biſhop of *Down* in *Sept.* 1694, in the room of Dr. THOMAS HACKET depriv'd. He died *May* 22. 1695.

[f] Dr. TOBIAS PULLEYN of *Trinity College Dublin*, Dean of *Fernes*, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Cloyne Novemb.* 12. 1694. and tranſlated to *Dromore* in *May* 1695. He died in 1713.

" I have had many thoughts about the reſult " of the meeting at *Lambeth*, and for many " reaſons think it not ſafe, by our own authority " or agreement among ourſelves, to endeavour " a redreſs of abuſes in the particulars propoſed; " nor can I think it will be effectual to its end. " And therefore I have pitch'd upon the other " way your Lordſhip ſuggeſted to me, by a " letter from their Majeſties, requiring me and " the Archbiſhop of *York* to communicate their " Majeſties pleaſure to our ſuffragan Biſhops by " way of injunctions from their Majeſties. To " this end I have taken for my ground the " paper your Lordſhip left with me, making as " well as I could ſome ſmall alterations and " needful additions, of which I have ſent you " a copy, as alſo a brief and rude draught of " the injunctions; together with a copy of ſome " orders, deſigned by my predeceſſor, concern- " ing ordinations, and ſome obſervations of Bi- " ſhop FELL thereupon, that your Lordſhip " may mark what you think moſt material to " be taken out of them. And if your Lordſhip " approve of the method propoſed, I intreat " you to give me your free thoughts upon every " article in the injunctions, and what you would " have added or altered either in them or their " Majeſties letter.

" Your Lordſhip by Biſhop FELL's obſerva- " tions will perceive, that he doubted, whether " it might be ſafe to meet and conſult about " ſuch matters, and by our own authority to " make any orders or agreement beſides the law " in any tittle, though never ſo fit. But I had " alſo another reaſon, which moved me herein, " that their Majeſties concernment for religion

" and

" and the church might appear to the na-
" tion.

" I do not uſe to write ſo long a letter, and
" therefore hope to be the eaſilier pardon'd.
" My humble ſervice to your good lady, and
" to my worthy friend Mr. Secretary. I feel
" his abſence, being almoſt ready to be ſtarved
" for want of news. My two boys [g], I thank
" GOD, are got ſafe and very eaſily over the
" ſmall-pox. I have been ſix weeks in the
" country for my wife's health, and am but
" newly returned. I pray GOD to have you in
" his protection, and to ſend us a happy meet-
" ing. I am, with great affection and reſpect,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's very faithful

" friend and brother,

" Jo. CANT."

He wrote another letter to the ſame purpoſe a few days after to Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Biſhop of *Worceſter* [h], in which he incloſed a draught of their Majeſties letter, and of the injunctions deſign'd, intreating the Biſhop to give him his free thoughts upon them, and to ſuggeſt what he would have either alter'd or added in either of them. He obſerved likewiſe in this, as well as the preceding letter, that one of his views in the method now propoſed by him was, that their Majeſties

[g] His grandſons. [h] Communicated to me by the right Reverend ISAAC Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, from the collection of Biſhop STILLINGFLEET's papers, in the poſſeſſion of his grandſon the Rev. Mr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, Rector of *Hartlebury* in *Worceſterſhire*, and Canon of *Worceſter*.

Majeſties care and concernment for our religion might more manifeſtly appear to the general ſatisfaction of the nation; adding, that he had acquainted the Queen with the ſcheme, and ſhewn her the draught of the letter, which ſhe was pleaſed to ſay, ſhe thought would do very well.

A few days after his Grace wrote another letter upon this affair to the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*[1].

Lambeth-Houſe, Sept. 10. 1694.

" My Lord,

" THE letter, which I lately received from " your Lordſhip, I have imparted to her " Majeſty, who is as deſirous as yourſelf can " be to have this matter diſpatch'd, but cannot " think it fit to put forth any thing of this " nature without firſt adviſing with the King, " and having his conſent and concurrence there- " to, eſpecially at this time, when his return " hither within a little while may ſo probably " be expected. Hereupon I moved it might be " ſent to him by the firſt opportunity; but her " Majeſty thought, that he would put it off to " his coming; or, if he ſhould immediately " ſend over his conſent, yet his coming being " probably ſo near, it might be liable to ſome " odd conſtruction, as if the King did not much " care to appear in it, and therefore it was pur- " poſely contriv'd to be done in his abſence. " Your Lordſhip ſees how her Majeſty's great " wiſdom looks on every ſide of a thing; and " therefore upon the whole matter the buſineſs " muſt reſt till the King's return: And I ſee " no

[1] Communicated by the honourable Mr. Juſtice BURNET.

" no great inconvenience in it, ſince, according " to the method now pitch'd upon, the reaſon " of delaying to the King's coming will be viſi- " ble to every body.

" The alteration of the clauſe of encourage- " ment to the Clergy is, I think, much for the " better, and, which is more, ſo doth the Queen; " who alſo approves of the article concerning " family-devotion.

" I intreat you to give my humble ſervice to " your good Lady, and to Mr. Secretary, and " to believe, that I am,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's faithful friend

" and moſt affectionate brother,

" Jo. Cant."

The execution of this important buſineſs of the royal injunctions being delay'd till the King's return on the 9th of *November*, a total ſtop was put to them by the death of the Archbiſhop not many days after, and that of the Queen the month following, whoſe endeavours were united with his upon all ſuch occaſions; her Majeſty, to whom the King wholly left the matters of the church, conſulting chiefly with his Grace, whom ſhe favoured and ſupported in a moſt particular manner. And ſhe ſaw what need there was of it, for a party was ſoon form'd againſt him, who ſet themſelves to cenſure every thing, which he did. And it was a melancholy conſideration, that tho' no Archbiſhop before him had ever applied himſelf ſo intirely, without partiality or bias, to all the concerns of the church and religion, and the Queen's heart was ſet on pro-

moting them, yet ſuch an evil ſpirit ſhould ſeem to be let looſe upon the Clergy. They complain'd of every thing, that was done, if it was not in their own way; and the Archbiſhop bore the blame of all. And as he did not enter into any cloſe correſpondence, or the concerting meaſures with the miniſtry, but lived much abſtracted from them; they likewiſe endeavour'd to depreſs him all they could. This made a conſiderable impreſſion upon him, and he grew very uneaſy in his great poſt [k].

The malice and party-rage, which he had felt the effects of before he was rais'd to the Archbiſhopric, broke out with full force upon his advancement, in all the forms of inſult. One inſtance of which, not commonly known, deſerves to be mention'd here. Soon after his promotion, while a Gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in ſeal'd and directed to his Grace. Upon opening of which there appear'd a maſk inclos'd, but nothing written. The Archbiſhop without any ſigns of emotion threw it careleſsly among his papers on the table; and on the Gentleman's expreſſing great ſurprize and indignation at the affront, his Grace only ſmiled, and ſaid, that this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with ſome others, that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table [l].

Nor could the ſeries of ill treatment, which he received, ever provoke him to a temper of revenge; being far from indulging himſelf in any

[k] BURNET's hiſtory of his own time, *vol.* II. *p.* 117, 118.

[l] Letter of the Revd. Mr. Archdeacon SHARP of *Novemb.* 7. 1751, who was inform'd of this fact by Dr. GREEN, Vicar of *St. Martin's*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*.

any of thoſe liberties in ſpeaking of others, which were to ſo immeaſurable a degree made uſe of againſt himſelf [m]. And upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inſcription than this, *Theſe are libels. I pray God forgive them; I do* [n]. The calumnies ſpread againſt him, tho' the falſeſt, which malice could invent, and the confidence, with which they were averr'd, join'd with the envy, that accompanies a high ſtation, had indeed a greater operation, than could have been imagined, conſidering how long he had liv'd on ſo public a ſcene, and how well he was known. It ſeemed a new and unuſual thing, that a man, who in the courſe of above thirty years had done ſo much good, and ſo many ſervices to ſo many perſons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one, and who had a ſweetneſs and gentleneſs in him, that ſeem'd rather to lean to an exceſs, ſhould yet meet with ſo much unkindneſs and injuſtice. But he bore all this with a ſubmiſſion to the will of GOD; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his temper or maxims, though perhaps it might ſink too much into him with relation to his health. He was ſo exactly true in all the repreſentations of things or perſons, which he laid before their Majeſties, that he neither rais'd the character of his friends, nor ſunk that of thoſe, who deſerv'd not ſo well of him, but offered every thing to them with that ſincerity,

[m] BURNET's reflections, *p.* 89, 90. [n] Dean SHERLOCK's ſermon at the *Temple, December* 30. 1694. This ſermon was immediately attack'd by Mr. JEREMY COLLIER, in a pamphlet in 4to, entitled, *Remarks on ſome ſermons*, in which he treats the character and memory of the Archbiſhop with great bitterneſs and indecency.

which ſo well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almoſt every thing, which he ſaid or did; his looks and whole manner ſeeming to take away all ſuſpicion concerning him. For he thought nothing in this world was worth much art or great management [o].

He concurred with the Queen in engaging the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* to undertake his *Expoſition of the thirty-nine articles of the church of* England, which that indefatigable Prelate perform'd in leſs than the compaſs of a year, and then ſent the manuſcript of his excellent work, which was not publiſh'd till 1699, to the Archbiſhop, who having reviſ'd and alter'd it in ſeveral places, returned it with his judgment upon it in the following letter [p].

Lambeth-Houſe, October 23d 1694.

" My Lord,

" I Have with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction " read over the great volume you ſent me, " and am aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo vaſt a work begun " and finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time. In the arti- " cle of the Trinity you have ſaid all, that I " think can be ſaid upon ſo obſcure and diffi- " cult an argument. The Socinians have juſt " now publiſhed an anſwer to us all; but I have " not had a ſight of it. The negative articles " againſt the church of *Rome* you have very " fully explained, and with great learning and " judgment. Concerning theſe you will meet " with no oppoſition amongſt ourſelves. The " greateſt danger was to be apprehended from " the

[o] BURNET's funeral ſermon, *p.* 26, 27.

[p] Life of Biſhop BURNET, at the end of the 2d vol. of his Hiſtory of his own time, *p.* 719.

" the points in difference between the *Calviniſts*
" and *Remonſtrants*, in which you have ſhewn
" not only great ſkill and moderation, but great
" prudence in contenting yourſelf to repreſent
" both ſides impartially, without any poſitive
" declaration of your own judgment. The ac-
" count given of ATHANASIUS's creed ſeems
" to me no-wiſe ſatisfactory. I wiſh we were
" well rid of it. I pray GOD long to preſerve
" your Lordſhip to do more ſuch ſervices to the
" church. I am, My Lord,

" Yours moſt affectionately,

" JO. CANT."

He did not long ſurvive the writing of this letter, for on *Sunday* the 18th of *November* 1694, he was ſeiz'd with a ſudden illneſs, while he was at the chapel in *Whitehall*. But tho' his countenance ſhew'd, that he was indiſpos'd, he thought it not decent to interrupt the ſervice. The fit came indeed ſlowly on, but it ſeem'd to be fatal, and ſoon turn'd to a dead palſy. The oppreſſion of his diſtemper was ſo great, that it became very uneaſy for him to ſpeak; but it appear'd, that his underſtanding was ſtill clear, tho' others could not have the advantage of it [q]. He continued ſerene and calm, and in broken words ſaid, that he thank'd GOD, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait the will of heaven [r]. He was attended the two laſt nights of his illneſs by his friend Mr. NELSON, in whoſe arms he expir'd on the fifth day

[q] BURNET's funeral ſermon, *p.* 33.
[r] BURNET, Hiſtory of his own time, *vol.* II. *p.* 134.

of it, *Thurſday*, *November* 22d, at five in the afternoon [s], in the ſixty-fifth year of his age.

The ſorrow for his death was more univerſal than was ever known for a ſubject; and when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches filled with perſons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily to aſſiſt at that ſolemnity from *Lambeth* to the church of *St. Laurence Jewry*, where his body was interr'd on the 30th of that month, and a monument afterwards erected to his memory, with the following inſcription:

P. M.
Reverendiſſimi & ſanctiſſimi Præſulis
JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,
Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis,
Concionatoris olim hâc in Eccleſiâ
per Annos XXX *celeberrimi,*
Qui obiit X° *Kal.* Dec. MDCLXXXXIV,
Ætatis ſuæ LXIIII.
Hoc poſuit ELIZABETHA
Conjux illius mæſtiſſima.

His funeral ſermon was preach'd by Dr. BURNET Biſhop of *Saliſbury* on 2 *Tim.* iv. 7. in the courſe of which he was interrupted by a ſhort flow of ſighs and tears, which forc'd their way, as was viſible to the audience; who accompanied it with a general groan [t].

This ſermon being ſoon after publiſhed in 4to, had a very different effect upon Dr. HICKES, and gave occaſion to his piece ſo often cited above, called *Some diſcourſes*, printed the year follow-

[s] Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

[t] Mr. OLDMIXON, Hiſtory of *England*, *p.* 95. who was preſent at that ſolemnity.

following. The acrimony of it, which is ſcarce to be match'd among the invectives of any age or language, was perhaps owing to private reſentment, as well as to difference of opinion and party; for it is confeſs'd by the Doctor's friends [u], that he was perſuaded, that both Dr. TILLOTSON and Dr. BURNET had ſo far prejudic'd SAVILE Earl of *Hallifax* againſt him, that his Lordſhip was the only one of the commiſſioners for diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical preferments, who refus'd to join in the recommendation of him to King CHARLES II. for the Deanry of *Worceſter*, which however was beſtowed upon him in *Auguſt* 1683. Biſhop BURNET gave a ſtrong and clear anſwer to theſe *diſcourſes* of Dr. HICKES in 1696 in his *reflections* upon them; to which the Doctor publiſh'd no reply, tho' Mr. HILKIAH BEDFORD, the reputed author, and real editor of *Hereditary right aſſerted*, in his *preface* to the Doctor's piece [w] in defence of a ſtory, which few critics now would undertake to maintain, that of the *Thebæan legion*, affirms, that he wrote one, though he did not print it, as Mr. BEDFORD ſays, *for obvious reaſons*. But it is not probable, that theſe *obvious reaſons* would have reſtrained ſo bold a writer as Dr. HICKES, who ſeem'd in general to uſe his pen with a freedom not controul'd by any apprehenſions of danger, and whoſe former pamphlet could ſcarce be exceeded in that point, from vindicating himſelf, or at leaſt his friends from juſtifying his memory, if any thing ſatisfactory could have been return'd to the many charges of miſrepreſentation

[u] *See his Life in the* General dictionary hiſtorical and critical, *vol.* VI.

[w] Written in 1687, and printed in 1714 in 8vo.

tion and falſhood imputed to him by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury.*

But whatever attempts have been or may be made upon the memory of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, his character may be truſted to poſterity upon the facts related of him from indiſputable authority, and the teſtimony of his own writings both private and public.

His life was indeed not only free from blemiſhes, but exemplary in all the parts of it. In his domeſtic relations, friendſhips, and the whole commerce of buſineſs, he was eaſy and humble, frank and open, tender-hearted and bountiful [x] to ſuch an extent, that while he was in a private ſtation, he laid aſide two tenths of his income for charitable uſes [y]. He deſpis'd wealth, but as it furniſh'd him for charity, in which he was judicious as well as liberal [z]. And tho' he had enjoy'd conſiderable preferments many years before he was rais'd to the Archbiſhopric, and fill'd that poſt above three years and a half, yet he did not improve his fortune from his two ſucceſſive Deanries, or from that See, out of which his Predeceſſor SANCROFT had rais'd an eſtate [a]. An inſtance of his moderation in this reſpect, while he was Dean of *St. Paul's*, has been communicated to me by his worthy ſucceſſor in that dignity, THOMAS Lord Biſhop of *Oxford.* The only leaſe, which he executed ſeparately, as Dean of that cathedral, was one of a ſmall tenement in *Creed-Lane*, on the 9th of *February* 1690. And tho' two others, each of a few acres of ground near *London*, were actually drawn and enter'd in the regiſter-book, yet he left

[x] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 28.
[y] LE NEVE, *p.* 234.
[z] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 29.
[a] BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 136.

left them unexecuted, becauſe he was ſoon to be preferr'd to the Archbiſhopric.

A decent but grave chearfulneſs made his converſation as lively and agreeable, as it was uſeful and inſtructing. He was ever in good humour, always the ſame, both acceſſible and affable. He heard every thing patiently, and was not apt either to miſtake or to ſuſpect; his own great candour diſpoſing him to put the beſt conſtruction, and to judge the moſt favourably of all perſons and things. He was never imperious nor aſſuming; and tho' he had a ſuperior judgment to moſt men, yet he never dictated to others. And as no man had obſerved human nature more carefully, or could judge better, ſo none made larger allowances for the frailties of mankind, than he did [b].

The vivacity of his wit is evident under the reſtraints, which his diſcourſes from the pulpit exacted from him, and thoſe, which he impos'd upon himſelf in his few controverſial writings; and Sir RICHARD STEELE, an indiſputable judge in that kind, uſed to ſay, that he had a much greater ſhare of it, than moſt of thoſe, whoſe character was denominated from it. But his temper and principles would not ſuffer him to exerciſe it in ſatire, or even in ſelf-defence; ſo that few repartees of his are deliver'd down. Among theſe was one in return to Sir JOHN TREVOR, who was made Maſter of the rolls by King JAMES, with whom he was in high favour, and expell'd for bribery by the houſe of Commons, while he was Speaker of it. This gentleman, who, with a very obnoxious character, affected very high principles in church and ſtate, paſſing

[b] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 28.

paſſing by the Archbiſhop in the houſe of Lords ſoon after his promotion, ſaid in a tone loud enough to be heard by his Grace, "I hate a fa-"natic in lawn ſleeves;" to which the Archbiſhop anſwered in a lower voice, "and I hate "a knave in any ſleeves." This ſtory is related likewiſe, with the difference of ſome circumſtances, that Sir JOHN TREVOR's words were carried to his Grace by Dr. MANNINGHAM, then Chaplain at the Rolls, upon Sir JOHN's bidding him deliver them to the Archbiſhop, whom the Doctor was going to viſit, tho' without any imagination, that the Doctor would be the bearer of ſuch a meſſage; to which he was too faithful, and even brought back his Grace's reply to the Maſter of the rolls. Another inſtance of this talent was upon occaſion of Dr. SOUTH's *Animadverſions* on Dr. SHERLOCK's *Vindication of the Trinity* in 1693. Dr. SOUTH being deſirous to know the Archbiſhop's opinion of his performance, wherein he had occaſionally reflected upon him for his *ſignal and peculiar encomium*, as he calls it[c], *of the reaſoning abilities* of the Socinians, procured a friend of his to draw it from his Grace, who gave it to this effect, that the Doctor *wrote like a man, but bit like a dog*. This being reported to the Doctor, he anſwer'd, "that "he had rather bite like a dog, than fawn like "one." To which the Archbiſhop replied, "that "for his own part, he ſhould chuſe to be a *ſpa-"niel* rather than a *cur*."

He lived in a due neglect of his perſon, and contempt of pleaſure, but never affected pompous ſeverities[d].

In

[c] *P.* 358. [d] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 29.

In his function, he was not only a conſtant preacher, but likewiſe diligent in all the other parts of his duty; for though he had no cure of ſouls, yet few, who had, laboured ſo painfully as he did, in viſiting the ſick, in comforting the afflicted, and in ſettling ſuch, as were either wavering in their opinions, or troubled in mind [e].

His love for the real philoſophy of nature, and his conviction, that the ſtudy of it is the moſt ſolid ſupport of religion, induced him, not many years after the eſtabliſhment of the Royal Society, to deſire to be admitted into that aſſembly of the greateſt men of the age; into which he was accordingly elected on the 25th of *January* 167½ [f], having been propoſed on the 18th as a candidate by Dr. SETH WARD Biſhop of *Saliſbury* [g]; and he was admitted a member on the 14th of *March* [h].

He had a great compaſs in learning. What he knew, he had ſo perfectly digeſted, that he was truly maſter of it. But the largeneſs of his genius, and the correctneſs of his judgment, carried him much farther, than the leiſure, that he had enjoy'd for ſtudy, ſeemed to enable him to go; for he could proceed great lengths upon general hints [i].

He always endeavoured to maintain the Chriſtian doctrine in its original purity. Even in his younger years, when he had a great livelineſs of thought and extent of imagination, he avoided the diſturbing the peace of the church with particular opinions, or an angry oppoſition about more indifferent or doubtful matters. He lived indeed in great friendſhip with men, who differed

[e] Ibid. *p.* 28, 29.
[f] Journal book of the Royal Society, *vol.* IV. *p.* 227.
[g] Ibid. *p.* 225.
[h] Ibid. *p.* 238.
[i] Funeral ſermon, *p.* 29.

fered from him. He thought, that the ſureſt way to bring them off from their miſtakes, was by gaining upon their hearts and affections. And in an age of ſuch remarkable diſſoluteneſs, as that in which he liv'd, he judged, that the beſt method to put a ſtop to the growing impiety, was firſt to eſtabliſh the principles of natural religion, and from that to advance to the proof of Chriſtianity and of the Scriptures, which being once ſolidly done would ſoon ſettle all other things. He was therefore in great doubt, whether the ſureſt means to perſuade the world to the belief of the ſublime truths, that are contained in the Scriptures, concerning God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and concerning the perſon of Chriſt, was to enter much into the diſcuſſing of thoſe myſteries. He fear'd, that an indiſcreet inſiſting and deſcanting upon thoſe points might do more hurt than good; and thought, that the maintaining thoſe doctrines, as they are propoſed in the Scriptures, without entering too much into explanations or controverſies, would be the moſt effectual way to preſerve the reverence, that was due to them, and to fix them in mens belief. But when he was deſired by ſome, and provoked by others, and ſaw juſt occaſions moving him to it, he aſſerted thoſe great myſteries with that ſtrength and clearneſs, which was his peculiar talent.

He thought, that the leſs mens conſciences were entangled, and the leſs the communion of the church was clogg'd with diſputable opinions or practices, the world would be the happier, conſciences the freer, and the church the quieter. The Scriptures were the rule of his faith, and the chief ſubject of all his meditations. He

judg'd,

judg'd, that the great deſign of Chriſtianity was the reforming mens natures, and governing their actions, the reſtraining their appetites and paſſions, the ſoftening their tempers, and ſweetening their humours, and the raiſing their minds above the intereſts and follies of this preſent world to the hope and purſuit of endleſs bleſſedneſs; and he conſidered the whole Chriſtian doctrine as a ſyſtem of principles all tending to this. He look'd on mens contending about leſſer matters, or about ſubtilties relating to thoſe, that are greater, as one of the chief practices of the powers of darkneſs to defeat the true ends, for which the Son of God came into the world; and that they led men into much dry and angry work, who, while they were hot in the making parties, and ſettling opinions, became ſo much the ſlacker in thoſe great duties, which were chiefly deſign'd by the Chriſtian doctrine [k].

The moderation both of his temper and principles very early occaſioned him, as well as Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, and others of the beſt and greateſt men of their times, to be rank'd among thoſe Divines, who were ſtigmatiſed with the name of *Latitudinarians*, by perſons of very oppoſite characters. In vindication of them from the uſual reproaches annexed to that title, an anonymous author had publiſhed at *London* in 4to, as early as *June* 1662. *A brief account of the new ſet of Latitude-men; together with ſome reflections upon the new philoſophy. By* S. P. *of* Cambridge, *in anſwer to a letter from his friend at* Oxford. And he was ſeconded by the pious and rational Mr. EDWARD FOWLER, then Rector

[k] Ibid. *p.* 29—32.

tor of *Northill* in *Bedfordſhire*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, in his firſt work in 1670 [l], intitled, *The principles and practices of certain moderate Divines of the church of* England, *(greatly miſunderſtood) truly repreſented and defended.* In this book he complains [m], that this term of reproach, this *word*, as he calls it, *of a foot and a half long*, *Latitudinarian*, was frequently thrown out at that time not only in converſation, but from the pulpit, and that "it accompanied good "ſtore of other bombaſts, and little witticiſms, "in ſeaſoning not long ago the ſtately *Oxonian* "theatre [n]." Which paſſage evidently refers to the ſpeech of Dr. SOUTH, then orator of the univerſity of *Oxford*, in which he treated not only the new philoſophy and the Royal Society, but likewiſe moderation, comprehenſion, and other topics of that kind, with his uſual virulence and buffoonry, ſo juſtly complain'd of by Dr. WALLIS, in a letter to Mr. BOYLE [o], as unſuitable to a learned body on ſo ſolemn an occaſion.

His gentleneſs towards the Diſſenters was attended with the conſequence intended by him of reconciling many of them to the communion of the eſtabliſhed church, and almoſt all of them to a greater eſteem of it, than they had before entertain'd of it. His manner of reaſoning with them on the ſubjects in diſpute will appear from the following letter [p], written to a lady, whoſe name I have not been able to recover.

Febr.

[l] Printed at *London* in 8vo, and reprinted there in 1671.
[m] *P.* 9, 10. [n] It was dedicated in the beginning of *July* 1669. [o] Dated at *Oxford July* 17. 1669. See BOYLE's works, *vol.* V. *p.* 514. [p] Communicated to me by the reverend and learned Dr. LYTTELTON, Dean of *Exeter*.

Febr. 17th, 1681.

" Honour'd Madam,

" I Had return'd an anſwer to your letter " ſooner, but that I did not know how to " direct it, till I met with Mr. LOBB, who told " me your lodgings.

" For anſwer to the queſtion, in which your " Ladyſhip deſires to be reſolv'd; though no " man can act contrary to the perſuaſion of his " mind, without violence to his conſcience, which " is the immediate guide and director of our " actions; yet if our conſcience be miſled, either " by a heady and raſh zeal, or ſome unreaſon- " able prejudice, or for want of calm and im- " partial conſideration of the reaſons on both " ſides, or of a due regard in doubtful matters " to the judgment of thoſe guides, whom GOD " hath ſet over us, and who are likely to judge " better of theſe things than we can; or from " a neglect of any other means of rightly in- " forming our conſciences; in all theſe, and the " like caſes, the miſtake of our conſcience doth " not ſo juſtify our actions, but that the party, " that followed his conſcience, may be very " culpable, and guilty before GOD of a great " ſin. St. *Paul* reckons himſelf among the grea- " teſt of ſinners, for what he did according to " his conſcience, and the firm perſuaſion of his " own mind, in perſecuting the church of GOD; " for he tells us, that he verily thought, he " ought to do all thoſe things, which he did " againſt the name of JESUS of *Nazareth*. I " do not parallel the caſes: but this principle " holds in proportion in leſſer matters, that one

" may be faulty, and yet act according to his " conſcience; which ought to make us very " careful, to have our conſciences rightly in- " form'd concerning what is our duty or our " ſin.

" As to the particular caſe concerning the " geſture of receiving the ſacrament, give me " leave to uſe that neceſſary freedom, as to tell " you, that I do not think your conſcience is " truly inform'd, either concerning the nature " of the thing, or the conſequences of it. If the " geſture be indifferent, as I think it is, and as " it was thought to be by the whole chriſtian " church, for aught I can find, either by their " writings or practice, for many ages, which is " a very ſtrong preſumption of the indifferency " of it; then can there be no well grounded " perſuaſion of the unlawfulneſs of any geſture, " that is in uſe in the church, where we live; " eſpecially if it be enjoined by authority. If " it be alledged, that the geſture, in which our " Saviour celebrated it, is neceſſary to be fol- " lowed by us; the reaſon muſt be, either be- " cauſe we are punctually to obſerve and keep " to all the circumſtances, us'd by our Saviour, " in the firſt inſtitution of this ſacrament; and " then it will be neceſſary, for aught I can ſee, " to receive it in the very geſture us'd by our " Saviour, after ſupper, in an upper room, not " above the number of twelve beſides him that " adminiſters, and only men, and not women. " For if the bare example of our Saviour make " it neceſſary to us to do the like, then every " circumſtance obſerv'd by him will become " equally neceſſary to us. But this, I think, is " nobody's opinion, and therefore our Saviour's

" bare

" bare example is of no force in this matter.
" Or elſe, the reaſon muſt be, becauſe the geſ-
" ture, us'd by our Saviour, is in its own na-
" ture ſo proper and ſuitable to the ſacrament,
" as may ſeem to make it neceſſary; and this
" is that, which, I think, you inſiſt upon. But
" we muſt take heed of concluding, that God
" hath commanded or forbidden a thing, be-
" cauſe we think it very ſuitable or unſuitable.
" By this argument indeed the Papiſts endea-
" vour to prove an infallible judge of contro-
" verſies, and a great many other things; but
" 'tis a very ſlippery and uncertain argument.
" And to make the whole action of the ſacra-
" ment, with all the circumſtances of it, to be
" obligatory to us, not only the adminiſtration of
" the ſacrament in the elements of bread and
" wine muſt be expreſsly commanded, but every
" circumſtance likewiſe muſt be expreſsly en-
" joined. Otherwiſe the argument from an ima-
" ginable ſuitableneſs will be of no manner of
" force; for many things may be ſuitable enough,
" which are by no means neceſſary. Beſides that
" I cannot ſee, but that this way of arguing is
" rather of greater force as to the receiving it
" after ſupper, ſince this is expreſsly mentioned
" by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* xi. where he profeſſeth to
" declare the inſtitution juſt as he receiv'd it,
" but ſays not a word of the geſture. And,
" *Acts* xx. we find, that the Diſciples met to-
" gether in the evening to break bread, and
" in an upper chamber; ſo that it ſeems they
" did obſerve the circumſtances both of time
" and place, in which our Saviour celebrated it.
" And the circumſtance of time was ſo con-
" ſtantly obſerv'd by the Apoſtles, as to give

" this ſacrament the name of the LORD's Supper,
" (1 *Cor.* xi. 20.) which hath ever ſince con-
" tinued in the chriſtian church, tho' the time
" hath been altered from evening to morning.
" And now if ſuitableneſs or unſuitableneſs be
" ſuch a mighty argument, it ſeems to me every
" whit as unſuitable to celebrate a ſupper in the
" morning, as to communicate at a feaſt in any
" other than the common table-geſture.

" But then the conſequence of the thing is
" much worſe; becauſe you muſt either, during
" this erroneous perſuaſion (as I think) of your
" mind, not receive the ſacrament at all, which
" is to neglect a great and plain inſtitution of
" the chriſtian religion; or you muſt break the
" peace, and ſeparate from the communion of
" the church, upon ſuch a reaſon, as will pro-
" duce ſeparation without end: for if every lit-
" tle doubt and ſcruple be ground ſufficient to
" warrant a ſeparation, the peace and unity of
" the church will be perpetually in danger. I
" have been credibly inform'd, that in the late
" times there was an Anabaptiſt church in *Lon-*
" *don*, that in a ſhort ſpace ſubdivided into thirty
" ſeveral churches, upon different opinions about
" the circumſtances of adminiſtring the two ſa-
" craments; and every party ſo ſtiffly inſiſted
" upon that circumſtance, which they thought
" neceſſary, that they could not in conſcience
" communicate with one another.

" And now, Madam, upon the whole mat-
" ter I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider theſe
" few things. 1*ſt*, That one may ſin greatly in
" following the perſuaſion of an erring con-
" ſcience. 2*dly*, That it is only in things, where-
" in we are perfectly at liberty, that a doubt-
" ing

" ing conſcience binds us from acting contrary
" to it; which is the caſe St. *Paul* was ſpeaking
" of in the text you cite; *he, that doubteth, is*
" *damned, if he eat.* But where there is any ob-
" ligation to the thing (for inſtance, the com-
" mand of lawful authority) this ought to over-
" rule the doubt: for in this caſe it is not enough,
" that I doubt, whether the thing commanded
" be lawful, but I muſt be clearly ſatisfied, that
" it is unlawful; otherwiſe I ſin in diſobeying
" the commands of lawful authority. *3dly*, That
" it is not every doubt or ſcruple, that binds
" the conſcience, but grounded upon ſuch rea-
" ſons, as to prudent and conſiderate perſons
" may miniſter great and juſt cauſe of doubt;
" for a ſcruple and fear, that hath no probable
" reaſon to juſtify it and bear it out, ought to
" be rejected; and upon the advice of pious
" and prudent perſons one may ſafely act con-
" trary to ſuch a doubting and ſcrupulous con-
" ſcience; eſpecially when the ground of the
" doubt is ſuch, as by the generality of Chri-
" ſtians for many ages was never thought to be
" of any weight. *4thly*, That it falls out ſome-
" what unhappily, that the doubts and ſcruples
" of well-minded people are generally on the
" wrong ſide, againſt the peace of the church
" and obedience to authority; and that for one,
" that doubts, whether they can with a good
" conſcience ſeparate from the communion of a
" church, whoſe terms are as eaſy, as of any
" chriſtian church in the world, there are hun-
" dreds, that upon ſo many different and in-
" conſiſtent ſcruples make a doubt, whether with
" a good conſcience they can continue in it. It
" is worthy our ſerious conſideration, whence

" this ſhould proceed, when it is ſo very plain,
" that there is ſcarce any thing more ſtrictly
" charg'd upon Chriſtians than to endeavour the
" peace and unity of the church. *5thly*, That
" if you be not undoubtedly in the right in this
" matter, you are certainly guilty of a great ſin
" in forſaking the communion of our church
" upon this account. And *laſtly*, That the re-
" ligion, which will recommend us to GOD, doth
" not conſiſt in niceties and ſcruples; and that
" if we would more attend to the great end and
" deſign of this ſacrament, which is to engage
" us to be really good, we ſhould neither have
" liſt nor leiſure to contend about theſe little
" things; and but that I believe you are very
" ſincere in the propoſing of this doubt, I could
" not have obtain'd of myſelf to ſpend ſo much
" time about a matter, which I think to be of
" ſo little moment. And I am verily perſuad-
" ed, that our bleſſed LORD did for this very
" reaſon make ſo few poſitive laws in the chri-
" ſtian religion, hardly any beſides the two ſa-
" craments, and did alſo leave the circumſtances
" of theſe free and indifferent, that we might
" not be hindred from minding the weightier
" duties of religion by contending about cir-
" cumſtances and trifles; but in all things, as
" becomes perſons of humble and peaceable ſpi-
" rits, might be ready to comply with the ge-
" neral uſage and cuſtom of the church, in
" which we live, and the rules and injunctions
" of thoſe, who have authority to command
" us; which I am ſure is a greater duty,
" than many, otherwiſe very good people, ſeem
" to be ſenſible of. I heartily pray GOD to

" direct

" direct and ſatisfy you in this doubt. I am,
" Madam,

" Your moſt faithful friend and ſervant,

" J. TILLOTSON."

It has indeed been affirm'd, that he having frankly own'd in a ſermon [q], that the Diſſenters had ſome plauſible objections againſt the Common-prayer, and this occaſioning Archbiſhop SANCROFT to ſend for him to reprimand him, he juſtified his aſſertion; and being aſk'd what parts of the Common-prayer he meant, he inſtanc'd in the burial-office; upon which his Grace own'd to him, that he was ſo little ſatisfied himſelf with that office, that for that very reaſon he had never taken a cure of ſouls. Mr. HOADLY, in his *defence* of the *Reaſonableneſs of conformity*, juſtly queſtion'd the truth of this ſtory; and there is undoubtedly a miſtake in one important circumſtance of it; for it appears by an authentic and original certificate, that Archbiſhop SANCROFT had been Rector of *Houghton-in-the-Spring* in the County of *Durham*, to which he was collated on the 7th of *December* 1661, upon the reſignation of Dr. JOHN BARWICK, afterwards Dean of *St. Paul's*, and reſign'd it about *December* 1664 [r], when himſelf was inſtall'd to that Deanry.

[q] See Dr. CALAMY's Life of Mr. BAXTER, *p.* 226. *2d Edit.* The ſermon was probably that preach'd before the gentlemen and others born within the county of *York* on the 3d of *December* 1678, in which he acknowledges *in ſome very few things the plauſible exceptions of thoſe, who differ from us.*

[r] WALKER's ſufferings of the Clergy, *part* II. *p.* 144. *b. marg.* and LE NEVE, *p.* 198.

The difference between his principles and the rigid ones of CALVIN has ſtrongly prejudic'd the zealots for the latter againſt his writings; and their prejudices have been adopted by ſome late pretenders to an exalted and ſuper-natural piety. Dr. JOHN EDWARDS, the declar'd enemy of Mr. LOCKE, and the reviver of *Calviniſm* in the church of *England*, after the gradual extinction of it there, attacked the Archbiſhop's works in his *Preacher* [s], intirely omitting them in his catalogue of books, which he recommends to young ſtudents. However he acknowledges [t], that his Grace "gives a very natural deſcription "of the moral virtues, and commends and ſets "them off with a good grace. His exhortations "to, and reaſonings about practical duties are "very perſuaſive and penetrating; for he per-"forms this part with ſo ſmooth and even a "ſtyle, and with ſo popular an air, that he mar-"vellouſly inſinuates into the minds of all his "hearers and readers." But his reflections were anſwer'd by Mr. ROBERT LIGHTFOOT, B. D. and Rector of *Odel* in *Bedfordſhire*, in his *Remarks upon ſome paſſages in Dr.* EDWARDS's *preacher*, printed in 1709, and in another piece, publiſh'd the year following under the title of *Dr.* EDWARDS's *vindication conſidered*. Dr. HICKES [u] has indeed ventured to hope, that his Grace's pattern of preaching *would neither be long nor much followed*; and reproaches [w] him with having read but few of the Fathers, which he thinks would have rendered him a *much ſurer guide, as well as a more learned and ſound Divine*. But tho'

[s] The firſt volume of which was publiſh'd in 1705, the ſecond in 1706, and the third in 1709.

[t] *Vol.* I. *p.* 65. [u] Some diſcourſes, *p.* 51.

[w] *P.* 64.

tho' ſome few may differ from the general and impartial opinion with regard to his ſentiments in the more diſputable points, yet his abilities as a writer will meet with little conteſt while a true taſte ſubſiſts among us. Mr. DRYDEN frequently own'd with pleaſure, that if he had any talent for *Engliſh* proſe, which muſt be allow'd to have been a great one, it was owing to his having often read his Grace's writings [x]. And Dr. SWIFT, whoſe judgment was not uſually biaſs'd by exceſs of civility, vouchſafes the Archbiſhop the title of *excellent* [y]; an epithet, given him likewiſe by Mr. DODWELL, when he appeal'd to him in his controverſy concerning ſchiſm with Mr. BAXTER [z]. Dr. HENRY FELTON deſcribes him [a] as "all over natural and eaſy in the moſt unconſtrain'd and freeſt elegancy of words. His courſe both in his reaſoning and his ſtyle, like a gentle and even current, is clear and deep, and calm and ſtrong. His language is ſo pure, no water can be more. It floweth with ſo free uninterrupted a ſtream, that it never ſtoppeth the reader or itſelf. Every word poſſeſſeth its proper place. We meet no hard, unuſual, mean, far-fetched, or over-ſtrained expreſſion. His diction is not in the naked terms of the things he ſpeaks of, but rather metaphorical; yet ſo eaſily are his metaphors transferred, that you would not ſay they intrude into another's place, but that they ſtep into their

[x] Mr. CONGREVE's dedication of Mr. DRYDEN's dramatic works to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, *Edit.* London 1717.

[y] Letter to a young gentleman lately enter'd into holy orders, dated *January* 9th $17\frac{19}{20}$. [z] DODWELL's defence of his book of ſchiſm againſt Mr. BAXTER, *p.* 5. *Edit.* 1681 in 8vo. [a] Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, and forming a juſt ſtyle, *p.* 181, 182. *4th Edit.* 1730.

" their own." Mr. ADDISON conſider'd his writings as the chief ſtandard of our language, and accordingly mark'd the particular phraſes in the ſermons publiſh'd during his Grace's life-time, as the ground-work of an *Engliſh* dictionary, projected by that elegant writer, when he was out of all public employment after the change of the miniſtry in the reign of Queen ANNE.

However, one of our moſt elegant writers, whoſe verſion of PLINY has ſhewn, what was never before imagin'd poſſible, that tranſlations may equal the force and beauty of the originals, has in another work of his mix'd the higheſt compliments upon the Archbiſhop's ſentiments with the ſtrongeſt exceptions to his ſtyle, declaring [b], that he " ſeems to have no ſort of notion " of rhetorical numbers; and that no man had " ever leſs pretenſions to genuine oratory: That " one cannot but regret, that he, who abounds " with ſuch noble ſentiments, ſhould want the " art of ſetting them off with all the advantage " they deſerve; that the ſublime in morals " ſhould not be attended with a ſuitable eleva- " tion of language. The truth however is, his " words are frequently ill choſen, and almoſt " always ill placed. His periods are both tedi- " ous and inharmonious, as his metaphors are " generally mean, and often ridiculous." But this ingenious gentleman, who allows, that there is *a noble ſimplicity* in ſome of his Grace's ſermons, and that his *excellent* Diſcourſe on Sincerity *deſerves to be mentioned with particular applauſe*, will perhaps mitigate his cenſure of the reſt, if he conſiders the ſtate of our language

[b] Letters on ſeveral ſubjects by the late Sir THOMAS FITZ-OSBORNE, Bart. Letter XXIV. *p.* 109. *& ſeqq. Edit.* 1748.

at the time of our Prelate's firſt appearance as a writer, before he made the great improvement in it: The few exceptionable expreſſions to be found in his works, in compariſon of what are obſervable in thoſe of all his contemporaries: The vulgarity, which ſome of them have contracted ſince his uſe of them: The variety of his ſubjects, to which his ſtyle was to be adapted, and in many of which the higher form of oratory would have been extremely unſuitable, particularly thoſe of the argumentative kind, or upon the duties of common life: That diſcourſes from the pulpit being chiefly deſign'd to be pronounc'd, regard is often to be had in the diſpoſition of words and turn of ſentences to the Preacher's voice and manner of ſpeaking: That genuine oratory, to which he is repreſented as a ſtranger, does not conſiſt merely or even principally in the choice of well-ſounding words, or the moſt harmonious arrangement of them, in which Archbiſhop TILLOTSON is by no means defective [c]; but in the more important qualities, for which he is indiſputably eminent, a copiouſneſs of invention of topics proper for conviction and perſuaſion, urg'd with the greateſt ſtrength and clearneſs of expreſſion: That the merits therefore of ſuch a writer are not to be meaſur'd by a few paſſages ſelected out of whole volumes; eſpecially as two thirds of his ſermons, being publiſh'd after his death, want that perfection, which his laſt hand would have given them. And with regard to his two funeral ſermons upon Mr. GOUGE and Dr. WHICHCOT, which are

[c] Mr. MASON in his *Eſſay on the power and harmony of proſaic numbers, p.* 49. *Edit.* London 1749, in 8vo, juſtly affirms, that he had *a nice ear*, and was *happy in the ſweetneſs of his numbers*.

are affirm'd to be as *cold and languid performances, as were ever perhaps produced upon ſuch an animating ſubject*; not to inſiſt upon the ſhort time generally allow'd for the preparation of diſcourſes of that kind, it is evident, that the former, being a juſtification of our Saviour's argument in proof of the reſurrection, requir'd reaſoning rather than oratory; and the latter, after the neceſſary explanation of the ſenſe of St. PAUL in the text, contains ſome very forcible and pathetic conſolations againſt the fear of death; and the accounts of his two friends in theſe ſermons will be certainly acknowledg'd not defective in any of the characters of a juſt panegyric.

The death of the Archbiſhop was lamented by Mr. LOCKE in a letter to Profeſſor LIMBORCH [d], not only as a conſiderable loſs to himſelf of a zealous and candid inquirer after truth, whom he conſulted freely upon all doubts in theological ſubjects, and of a friend, whoſe ſincerity he had experienced for many years, but likewiſe as a very important one to the *Engliſh* nation, and the whole body of the Reform'd churches. And it affected both their Majeſties with the deepeſt concern. The Queen for many days ſpoke of him in the tendereſt manner, and not without tears [e]; as his own death prevented him from feeling the terrible ſhock, which, if he had lived about five weeks longer, he muſt have received from that of her Majeſty, of whoſe virtues and accompliſhments he had the higheſt admiration, and to whom the King himſelf gave this teſtimony, that he could never ſee any thing in

[d] Dated at *London December* 11. 1694. Familiar letters, *p.* 363.

[e] BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 136.

in her, which he could call a fault[f]. His Majeſty likewiſe never mention'd him but with ſome teſtimony of his ſingular eſteem for his memory, and uſed often to declare to his ſon-in-law Mr. CHADWICK, that "he was the beſt man, whom "he ever knew, and the beſt friend, whom "he ever had." And this ſeems thoroughly to confute a common traditional ſtory, that his Majeſty ſhould ſay, that he was diſappointed in our Archbiſhop and his ſucceſſor TENNISON in oppoſite reſpects, having received much leſs ſervice from the abilities of the former in buſineſs, than from the latter, of whom he had not before conceiv'd ſo high an expectation.

The King's regard for the Archbiſhop extended to his widow. For his Grace's charity and generoſity, with the expence of coming into the See, and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had ſo exhauſted his fortune, that if his firſt fruits had not been forgiven him by the King, his debts could not have been paid; and he left nothing to his family but the copy of his poſthumous ſermons, which was afterwards ſold for 2500 guineas. His Majeſty therefore granted Mrs. TILLOTSON on the 2d of *May* 1695, an annuity of 400 *l.* during her natural life, and an addition to it on the 18th of *Auguſt* 1698 of 200 *l.* a year more; both which were continued till her death on the 20th of *January* 170½. And the King was ſo ſollicitous for the regular payment of her penſion without any deduction, that he always called for the money quarterly, and ſent it to her himſelf. The augmentation of her penſion

[f] Preface of Dr. EDWARD FOWLER Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, *to his* Diſcourſe of the great diſingenuity and unreaſonableneſs of repining at afflicting providences, *p.* 22. *Edit.* London 1695.

penſion appears to have been owing to the repreſentation made by the Lord-Chancellor SOMMERS to his Majeſty of the diſtreſs of her circumſtances, upon the death of her ſon-in-law Mr. CHADWICK. His Lordſhip had been particularly inform'd of this by two letters, one from Dr. SHERLOCK, Dean of *St. Paul's*, to Dr. HOBBS, a phyſician and intimate friend of his Lordſhip; and the other from Mr. NELSON to Lord SOMMERS himſelf. Theſe letters are inſerted here from the originals among the papers of that great lawyer and ſtateſman.

Deanry, Sept. 25. 1697.

" Dear HOBBS,

" THAT kindneſs, which was deſign'd to
" Archbiſhop TILLOTSON's nephew for
" maintaining him at the univerſity, and was
" then refuſed, as you know, is now become
" neceſſary. And your reſpect for the Arch-
" biſhop's memory, which was your motive
" then, I hope continues ſtill, eſpecially conſi-
" dering the nephew was in no fault. Mrs.
" TILLOTSON has ſuch a regard for the honour
" of my Lord, and ſuch a kindneſs for his re-
" lations for his ſake, that ſhe would gladly
" maintain him, if ſhe could; but ſhe is re-
" duc'd herſelf to thoſe narrow circumſtances
" by the unexpected death of Mr. CHADWICK,
" and that leſs expected condition he has left
" his family in, that ſhe is utterly diſabled. She
" came to me before I went to *Tunbridge*, to
" deſire me to recommend him to ſome family
" to be tutor to ſome young gentleman, where
" he might ſupport himſelf; and upon that oc-
" caſion

" caſion acquainted me with her condition, that " Mr. CHADWICK had ſpent all his eſtate, but " what was ſettled upon his wife in marriage, " which comes to her eldeſt ſon: That the " younger ſon and daughter had not one farthing " to maintain them, but depended wholly upon " her. That he had put a thouſand pounds of " her money into the Bank in his own name, " and had given her no declaration of truſt, " tho' ſhe had often deſir'd it of him, which by " this means is loſt to her, and muſt pay his " debts. That his eſtate in the foreſt [s], where " ſhe has built her houſe, and, I think, is " copyhold, was purchas'd for his life at 300 *l.* " which muſt now be paid again. That upon " his great importunity ſhe built that houſe at " great expence, which is now much too big for " her. I was extremely concern'd to hear this " ſad account, and promiſed I would do what I " could to maintain her nephew in the univer- " ſity; for to take him ſo young from thence " would be his ruin; and for this reaſon have " repreſented the caſe to you, preſuming upon " your old friendſhip, but have not the confi- " dence to do ſo much to ſome great men you " know, for it muſt be great kndneſs or great " virtue, that recovers a balkt charity. But this " good Lady's condition is ſo very pitiable, that " I wiſh you could perſuade my Lord-Chancel- " lor to repreſent it to his Majeſty, who, I am " perſuaded, after all his generous goodneſs to " her, would ſtill be inclined to compaſſion her " new misfortunes. I am, Dear Sir,

" Your moſt affectionate friend and ſervant,

" WILLIAM SHERLOCK."

The

[s] *Valentines* near *Wanſted* in *Eſſex*.

The Archbiſhop's nephew, mentioned in this letter, Mr. ROBERT TILLOTSON, ſon of his brother JOSHUA, was educated at *Clare-Hall*, of which he was afterwards Fellow; and during the courſe of his education was honour'd with the favour of Lord SOMMERS, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledg'd by him in a *Latin* letter to his Lordſhip ſtill extant. Upon entering into orders he was preſented to the fine-cure of *Elme*, of conſiderable value in the Iſle of *Ely*, by the Executors of the Archbiſhop, to whoſe diſpoſal that option was left.

Mr. NELSON's letter to Lord SOMMERS was as follows:

" My Lord,

" I Took the liberty to put Mr. Chancellor of " the Exchequer in mind of that favourable " anſwer your Lordſhip procured from the King " in reference to Mrs. TILLOTSON's affairs, in " hopes, that he would lay ſome propoſals be- " fore his Majeſty for his royal approbation, in " order to ſatisfy the neceſſity of Mrs. TILLOT- " SON's circumſtances, and that they might be " diſpatched before the King's departure; ſince, " as I apprehend, matters of this nature ſuffer " extremely by delay, and meet with the beſt " ſucceſs, when the ſenſe of their fitneſs makes " the deepeſt impreſſion. The diſtance I live " from town, and the averſion I have to be " troubleſome to great men, makes me ignorant " of what progreſs Mr. Chancellor has made, " though I muſt own he expreſſed great zeal to " the memory of the Archbiſhop, and profeſſed " much readineſs and inclination to ſerve Mrs. " TILLOTSON.

" Your Lordſhip's generous procedure em-
" boldens me to ſollicit the continuance of your
" favour, being confident, that your Lordſhip
" will receive a great deal of pleaſure from ſee-
" ing that finiſhed, which your Lordſhip's
" great goodneſs has given a birth to. And
" if Mr. MONTAGU. wants any incitement be-
" ſides your Lordſhip's example, your Lord-
" ſhip's conſtant owning Mrs. TILLOTSON's
" cauſe will be an argument too powerful to
" be reſiſted. I have all the reſpect imaginable
" for your Lordſhip's poſt and character, but
" I muſt profeſs, 'tis the experience of your
" Lordſhip's perſonal merit, which creates the
" profoundeſt reſpect of,

July 1698, *Blackheath.*

" My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

" and moſt humble ſervant,

" NELSON."

The Archbiſhop had by his wife, to whom he was married at *St. Laurence Jewry*, by her father-in-law Dr. WILKINS, on the 23d of *February* 166$\frac{3}{4}$ *, two daughters, MARY and ELIZABETH, who both died before him, the former, who was married to Mr. CHADWICK, leaving two ſons, and a daughter. The elder was educated at *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge* under Mr. BENJAMIN HOADLY, then Fellow of that college, now Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and retiring to his paternal eſtate in *Nottinghamſhire* of about three hundred pounds a year, died there young, leaving a ſon, EVELYN CHADWICK, Eſq; now living. The

* From the Regiſter of *St. Laurence Jewry*.

The younger ſon was a *Turkey* merchant, and died about 1735. And the daughter was married to Mr. FOWLER, a conſiderable Linnen-draper in *London*, and ſon of Dr. FOWLER Biſhop of *Gloceſter*.

His poſthumous ſermons were publiſhed by his Chaplain Dr. RALPH BARKER, who had been Fellow of *Caius-College* in *Cambridge*, and preferred by his Grace, while Dean of *St. Paul's*, in *September* 1690, to the Rectory of *St. Mary-Magdalen Old-Fiſh Street* in *London*, which he reſign'd in *May* the year following, for ſome other preferment. The Doctor was particularly qualified for this office of editor, having been inſtructed by his patron in the character, in which he wrote all his ſermons. The firſt volume of theſe ſermons, which begins with one on *John* i. 47. the laſt preach'd by his Grace, at *Kingſton July* 29. 1694, was publiſhed in 1695 with a dedication to the King by Mrs. TILLOTSON; and the 14th and laſt volume was printed in 1704. Dr. SAMUEL BRADFORD, then Rector of *St. Mary-le-Bow*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Carliſle* in *April* 1718, and of *Rocheſter*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, in 1723, who had been honoured with the friendſhip and patronage of his Grace, by whom he was collated to the Rectory above-mention'd in *November* 1693, was likewiſe employed in reviſing and correcting the impreſſion of theſe ſermons; beſides which there was one, which was then ſuppreſs'd, and is now probably loſt. In that ſermon the Archbiſhop took an occaſion to complain of the uſage, which he had received from the Nonjuring party, and to expoſe in return the inconſiſtency of their own conduct, remarking particularly, that upon a juſt

compariſon of their principle of non-reſiſtance with their actual non-aſſiſtance to King JAMES II, they had little reaſon to boaſt of their loyalty to him. And yet ſevere as this diſcourſe was upon that party, Mr. NELSON, who was attach'd to them, was very zealous for printing it, alledging, that they deſerved ſuch a rebuke for their unjuſt treatment of ſo good a man.

His ſermons againſt the doctrines of the church of *Rome* were attack'd after his death in a book, intitled, *A true and modeſt account of the chief points in controverſy between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants*; the writer of which, N. COLSON, profeſſes in the beginning of his preface *to anſwer the moſt material objections in Dr.* TILLOTSON's *ſermons*, as well as *to lay down the grounds, on which the Popiſh religion is founded.* He allows indeed his Grace the character of an *ingenious perſon*, though, as he inſinuates, without any ſolid ſenſe or argumentation; and affirms him to have been much inferior to his antagoniſt Mr. SERJEANT, whom he ſtiles *a great wit*, a title, which he much leſs deſerv'd, than the other, which he gives him, of *an indefatigable writer.* Mr. COLSON's book was anſwered by a Divine, who had been honoured with his Grace's acquaintance [h], LEWIS ATTERBURY, L. L. D. Rector of *Sheperton* and *Hornſey* in *Middleſex*, and elder brother of FRANCIS Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Dr. ATTERBURY's anſwer was publiſhed at *London* in 1709 in 8vo, under the title of *A vindication of Archbiſhop* TILLOTSON's *ſermons: being an anſwer to a Popiſh book, intitled,* A true and modeſt account of the chief points

[h] See Life of LEWIS ATTERBURY, L. L D. by EDWARD YARDLEY, B. D. Archdeacon of *Cardigan*, prefix'd to Dr. ATTERBURY's ſermons, *Edit.* London in 8vo.

in controverſy between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants, &c. *Wherein theſe following heads are conſidered:* 1. *The church of* Rome *not catholic.* 2. *The ſupremacy.* 3. *The infallibility of the church.* 4. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 5. *Communion in one kind.* 6. *Prayers in an unknown tongue.* 7. *The invocation of ſaints.* 8. *Images.* 9. *Purgatory.* 10. *Indulgences.* In his anſwer to Mr. COLSON's preface he remarks [i], that his Grace's ſermons, "beſides the plainneſs and familiarity of the expreſſion, and the other beauties of ſtyle, have "this advantage beyond other controverſial writings, that his arguments againſt Popery being "intermix'd with more practical truths, are read "with pleaſure and delight by ſuch perſons, "who would never endure the fatigue of turning over and conſidering a book writ cloſely, "and conſiſting only of dry argumentation." He owns [k], that the Archbiſhop "ſometimes diverts himſelf and his reader with the foppery "and impertinencies of the Popiſh authors, their "unſound reaſonings, and abſurd conſequences; "but never, *adds he*, at the expence of good "manners or good breeding. He every where "mingles his ſharpeſt reflections on the cauſe "with charity to the perſon; reconciles controverſy with good nature, and hath ſhewn himſelf to be not only a ſkilful divine, and an "able diſputant, but alſo a good man, and one "of the civileſt gentleman-like perſons in the "world."

The works of his Grace were digeſted by Mr. LAWRENCE ECHARD, Archdeacon of *Stow*, into a volume of *Maxims*, publiſh'd at *London*

[i] *P.* 4. [k] *P.* 8.

London in 1719 in 8vo, who in his *Preface* obſerves, that he had been long of opinion, that out of the *Engliſh* writers many apothegms, wiſe ſentences, and contracted arguments, as beneficial and agreeable as any in foreign authors, might be ſelected to excellent good purpoſes; and that "more particularly in Archbiſhop TILLOTSON's works may be found a number of "paſſages not inferior to ROCHEFOUCAULT and "LA BRUYERE, but with this difference, that "the latter wrote with deſign, and the Archbiſhop occaſionally, as his ſubject led him; "ſo that theirs were ſometimes more finiſh'd, "but his more natural: Theirs had ſometimes "a more artful turn, which the *French* nation "have ſtudied and practiſed almoſt to affectation: His had a native ſimplicity and grandeur more agreeable to the *Engliſh* taſte. They "all had a profound inſight into human nature; "but the *French* ſeem'd to have had more ſubtlety, and our *Engliſh* author more ſolidity." Upon this ſuppoſition and belief, Mr. ECHARD undertook to make a ſelect collection of various paſſages out of the writings of the Archbiſhop; methodizing them under proper heads and ſubjects, as they would well bear. This treatiſe he doubted not would prove both uſeful and entertaining to all, who have a true taſte for polite and correct writing; and that thoſe, who had read but little of his works, when they came to ſee the juſtneſs of the thoughts, the happineſs of the expreſſions, and the latent wit, that diffuſes itſelf through the whole, would be incited to read him at full length, and to conſider him not only as a divine and moraliſt, but

as a gentleman, who had a large and deep inſight into the nature of mankind.

The reputation of his Grace's writings in foreign countries was partly owing to Monſ. LE CLERC, who in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie* [1], for the year 1705, gave an account of the ſecond edition in 1699 in fol. of thoſe publiſh'd in his Grace's life-time. He declares there, that the Archbiſhop's merit was above any commendations, which he could give, and that it was form'd from the union of an extraordinary clearneſs of head, a great penetration, an exquiſite talent of reaſoning, a profound knowledge of true divinity, a ſolid piety, and a moſt peculiar perſpicuity and unaffected elegance of ſtyle, with every other quality, that could be deſir'd in a man of his order: And, to crown all this, theſe excellent qualities were too conſpicuous not to expoſe him to envy and calumny, which ſcarce ever attack perſons of the common level, or thoſe, whoſe qualifications are not eminent. That his Grace indeed had been accus'd of Socinianiſm; an imputation generally caſt upon men, who have reaſon'd with a force and exactneſs above the vulgar, and preferr'd the expreſſions of Scripture to the language of the ſchool-men. But ſlanders of this kind, inſtead of blemiſhing the reputation of men of the Archbiſhop's rank, only ſet it off with greater advantage, like ſhades in a picture. With regard to his ſermons, Monſ. LE CLERC obſerves, that whereas compoſitions of that kind are commonly mere rhetorical and popular declamations, and much better to be heard from the pulpit, than read in print, thoſe of the Archbiſhop are for the moſt part exact diſſertations

[1] *Tom.* VII. *Art.* 8. *p.* 289. *& ſeqq.*

tions, and capable of bearing the teſt of the moſt rigorous examination of the moſt accurate reaſoners.

The ſermons publiſh'd in his life-time were firſt tranſlated into *Low Dutch*, and then a *French* verſion of them was begun by Monſ. D'ALBIAC, a *French* miniſter in *Holland*, and the firſt volume of it publiſh'd in 8vo at *Amſterdam* in 1706. Monſ. BERNARD, in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* [m], gave a good extract of this volume, which he begins with remarking, that as the title of *ſermons* is no great recommendation of a book, ſince many perſons expect to find there only cold declamations on ſubjects common, and treated of a thouſand times before by preachers; it would not have been improper to have intitled this work of the incomparable Archbiſhop, *Diſcourſes* or *Diſſertations upon the moſt important points of Religion*. He then obſerves, that theſe ſermons would be better reliſh'd by men of learning and good taſte, than by thoſe, who are deſtitute of both. That ſome perhaps might be offended with the ſimplicity of the ſtyle, and treat what is thus plain and natural, as low. But that this ſimplicity in the original was no inconſiderable part of its merit among the *Engliſh*, ſo that many, who had no regard for religion, read theſe ſermons merely for the beauty of the language. "It is to be "obſerv'd, *continues* Monſ. BERNARD, that the "*Engliſh* do not love a pompous kind of elo-"quence, in which all the words are ſtudied "and plac'd with as much care, as a ſtatue of a "ſaint in his nich. They are apprehenſive of "a deſign to ſurprize them, when they are

[m] Mois de *Decembre* 1705, *Art.* 2. *p.* 627.

" approach'd with ſo much preparation; and " they are jealous, leſt this elaborate dreſs ſhould " either conceal or diſguiſe the truth. They " prefer the ſimple beauty of nature to all this " affected rhetoric, ſo oppreſs'd, rather than " adorn'd by a thouſand foreign ornaments." This he thought proper to premiſe, as he was aſſur'd, that ſome perſons abroad would cry out, " Are theſe the ſermons of Archbiſhop TILLOT- " SON, which have been ſo highly extoll'd." And he adds, that it was affirm'd, that his Grace's third ſermon on *Prov.* xiv. 34. had been made great uſe of in another upon that text by a learned *French* Biſhop, who was eſteem'd one of the beſt preachers that ever appear'd in *France.*

The ſecond volume of Monſ. D'ALBIAC's verſion was publiſh'd in 8vo. But the taſk of tranſlating the Archbiſhop's works into *French* was already undertaken by a much abler hand, Monſ. BARBEYRAC, ſo juſtly eſteem'd for his own writings, and his excellent tranſlations of, and commentaries upon GROTIUS and PUFFENDORF. The firſt volume of his tranſlation of his Grace's ſermons was publiſh'd at *Amſterdam* in 1708. To this he prefix'd a long Preface, to ſhew, that the Archbiſhop's ſtyle and manner of preaching are beſt form'd for doing the greateſt good. He has added likewiſe notes and citations from the original authors referr'd to in the ſermons. The ſecond and third volumes were publiſh'd the ſame year, and the fourth and fifth afterwards; and Monſ. BARBEYRAC reviſ'd the tranſlations of the ſixth. The Archbiſhop's *Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation* was likewiſe publiſh'd in *French* at *London* in 1685 in 12°, and a new

verſion of it by Monſ. BARBEYRAC in 1727 in 12°. His ſermons upon Repentance were tranſlated alſo into *French* by Monſ. BEAUSOBRE, Miniſter of the *French* church at *Berlin*, and printed at *Amſterdam* in 1728 in 12°. Thirty of his ſermons were printed likewiſe in *High Dutch* at *Leipſic* in 1694 in 4to[n]; and great part of thoſe publiſh'd by himſelf were tranſlated into that language by JOHN CHRISTIAN FRAUENDORF, and printed there in 1697[o]. Another verſion of fifteen of his ſermons was printed at *Dreſden* in 1728 and 1730 in 8vo. with a Preface by BERNARD WALTHEN MARPENGER[p]; and one in *Low Dutch* at *Rotterdam* in 1712 in 8vo[q].

His *Funeral Sermon* upon his friend Dr. JOHN WORTHINGTON, Maſter of *Jeſus-College* in *Cambridge*, and Preacher at *St. Bennet Fink* in *London*, who died in 1671 at *Hackney*, where he was choſe Lecturer the year before[r], was never printed; but an extract of it containing the character of the Doctor is inſerted in the Preface to that learned man's *Miſcellanies* publiſh'd at *London* in 1704 in 8vo. by Dr. FOWLER Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. In this character of Dr. WORTHINGTON, he repreſents him in the moſt amiable light, as a perfect example of unwearied diligence and activity in his profeſſion, and for the general ſervice of mankind; being furniſh'd with a great ſtock of all excellent learning proper for a divine; pious and grave, without moroſeneſs or affectation, as remarkable for his humility as his knowledge; zealous in his friend-

[n] J. A. FABRICIUS de veritate religionis Chriſtianæ, *p.* 282. [o] Id. Ibid. *p.* 563. [p] Id. Lux Evangelii, *p.* 186. [q] Id. de veritate rel. Chriſtian. *p.* 564. [r] Preface to Dr. WORTHINGTON's diſcourſe on Chriſtian love, publiſhed by his ſon Mr. JOHN WORTHINGTON, at *London* in 1691.

friendſhips; charitable beyond the proportion of his eſtate; univerſally inoffenſive, kind, and obliging, even to thoſe, who differ'd from him; not paſſionate or contentious in debates or controverſies of religion; of eminent zeal for the promotion of learning and piety; and indefatigable in collecting, reviewing, and publiſhing the works of Mr. JOSEPH MEDE [s], "which he "did with ſo much care, that it would be hard "to inſtance either in our own nation, or per-"haps any where elſe, in ſo vaſt a work, that "was ever publiſh'd with more exactneſs; by "which he hath raiſed up to himſelf a monu-"ment likely to laſt, as long as learning and re-"ligion ſhall continue in the world." Doctor WORTHINGTON's friendſhip with that great promoter of all uſeful learning, Mr. SAMUEL HARTLIB, was cultivated by a frequent correſpondence by letters; four and twenty of the Doctor's being publiſh'd at the end of his *Miſcellanies*, and ſeveral others by Biſhop KENNET in his *Regiſter and Chronicle* [t].

The Archbiſhop, beſides his own *Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation*, was likewiſe editor of another upon the ſame ſubject, written by Mr. HENRY PENDLEBURY, who was born in *Lancaſhire*, educated at *Chriſt's-College* in *Cambridge*, and ejected in 1662 for Nonconformity from *Holcomb-Chapel* in his native county, and died *June* 18. 1695, at the age of ſeventy [u].

Not long after he was advanc'd to the Archbiſhopric, he had intended to have compos'd in *Latin* a ſyſtem of natural and revealed religion; but the buſineſs of that important poſt was probably

[s] Printed at *London* 1664 in folio.
[t] *P.* 867,—871.
[u] Dr. CALAMY's account, *p.* 400.

bably the cauſe of his not proſecuting the deſign. The plan, dated *March* 1ſt 169$\frac{9}{1}$, is ſtill extant in his own hand; and as the ſmalleſt remains of ſo great a maſter deſerve to be preſerv'd, it is inſerted here.

" Summa theologiæ Chriſtianæ in 4 libros " diſtributa.

" I. De religione naturali & mentibus hu- " manis inſciâ.

" 1. De DEO lumine naturali cognoſcibili.

" 2. De lege naturæ.

" 3. De providentiâ divinâ.

" 4. De immortalitate animorum.

" 5. De præmiis & pœnis poſt mortem.

" II. De revelatione divinâ.

" 1. De variis divinæ revelationis generibus " & gradibus.

" 2. De revelatione ad NOACHUM factâ.

" 3. De revelatione ad ABRAHAMUM.

" 4. De revelatione per MOSEM ad *Judæos.*

" 5. De revelatione per Chriſtum perfectiſſi- " mâ & ultimâ.

" 6. Quare non prius facta, ſed tandiu dilata.

" III. De religione Chriſtianâ.

" 1. De Jeſu Domino & Salvatore noſtro, & " religionis Chriſtianæ auctore.

" 2. De materia hujus revelationis.

" 3. An Chriſtus novas leges tulerit?

" 4. De perfectione hujus religionis.

" 5. De ſacramentis novi fœderis.

" IV. De officio hominis Chriſtiani.

" 1. De fide hominis Chriſtiani ad ſalutem " neceſſariâ.

" 2. De pœnitentiâ.

" 3.

" 3. De obedientiâ Chriſtianâ in genere: ejus " partes.

" 4. De pietate adverſus DEUM.

" 5. De temperantiâ & continentiâ ſive caſ- " titate.

" 6. De virtutibus ſive officiis proximum " ſpectantibus.

" 7. De charitate omnium aliarum virtutum " fonte & vinculo.

" 8. De obedientiâ ſincerâ & verè evangelicâ.

" 9. De præparatione ad mortem.

" 10. De ſupremo judicio.

" 11. De vitæ futuræ præmiis, & pœnis " æternis."

He had likewiſe plann'd out a courſe of ſermons in defence of Chriſtianity, the ſcheme of which is ſtill extant in his Common-place-book, with this title,

The Chriſtian Religion vindicated and explained in ſeveral Sermons upon the chief Articles of it contained in the Apoſtles Creed.

I believe, *&c.*

SERMON I.

Of the evil and unreaſonableneſs of infidelity.

Heb. iii. 12. *Take heed,* &c.

Infidelity is the cauſe of all the ſin and all the miſchief, *&c.*

Let the running title of this Sermon be, *Of Infidelity.*

SERMON II.

I believe, *&c.*

Of the virtue and reaſonableneſs of faith.

2 *Pet.*

2 *Pet.* i. 1. *To them who have obtained*, &c.
Running title, *Of Faith.*

SERMON III.

I believe, *&c.*
Same text, 2 *Pet.* i. 1.
Running title the ſame.

SERMON IV.

I believe, *&c.*
Of juſtifying faith.
Rom. v. 1. *Therefore being juſtified*, &c.

SERMON V.

I believe, *&c.*
Text the ſame, *Rom.* v. 1.
Of juſtification by faith.

SERMON VI.

I believe in God.
The being of God proved from the frame of the world.
Jer. li. 15. *He hath made the world by his power*, &c.

SERMON VII.

The being of God proved from the frame of human nature.
Gen. i. 27. *So God created man*, &c.

SERMON VIII.

I believe in God.
The being of God proved from univerſal conſent.
Pſal. xix. 3, 4. *There is no ſpeech nor language*, &c.

SER-

SERMON IX.
I believe in GOD.
The being of GOD proved from ſupernatural (facts) effects.
John v. 17. *But Jeſus anſwered them, my Father*, &c.

SERMON X.
I believe in GOD the Father.
Let the running title be, *I believe in God the Father.*
Eph. iv. 6. *One God and Father of all.*

SERMON XI.
The Father Almighty.
Running title, *The Father Almighty.*
Rev. xi. 17. *O Lord God Almighty.*

SERMON XII.
Running title, *Maker of heaven and earth.*
Acts iv. 24. *Lord, thou art God*, &c.

SERMON XIII.
And in Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.*
Of the truth of the Chriſtian religion.
Eph. i. 13. *In whom ye alſo truſted*, &c.

SERMON XIV.
And in Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.*
Of the impiety and impoſture of *Paganiſm* and *Mahometaniſm.*
Text the ſame, *Eph.* i. 13.

SERMON XV.
Of the imperfection of the *Jewiſh* religion.
Eph. i. 13.

SER-

SERMON XVI.
And in Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.*
Of the excellency of the Chriſtian religion.
1 *Cor.* ii. 6. *We ſpeak wiſdom amongſt them that are perfect*, &c.

SERMON XVII.
And in Jeſus Chriſt.
That Jeſus is the true Meſſiah.
Acts ix. 22. *Proving that this is the very Chriſt.*

SERMON XVIII.
The ſame title and text.

SERMON XIX.
The ſame title and text.

SERMON XX.
And in Jeſus Chriſt.
That he is the true Meſſiah.
John v. 37. *And the Father himſelf*, &c.

SERMON XXI.
His only ſon.
That the title.
John i. 14. *And we beheld his glory*, &c.

SERMON XXII.
Our LORD.
Running title the ſame.
Eph. iv. 5. *One Lord.*

SERMON XXIII.
Who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt.
Running title, *The incarnation of our Lord.*
Matt. i. 20. *For that which is*, &c.

SER-

SERMON XXIV.
Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin MARY.
Running title and text the ſame as the former.

SERMON XXV.
Suffered under PONTIUS PILATE.
Running title the ſame.
Text, 1 *Cor.* i. 23. *But we preach Chriſt*, &c.

SERMON XXVI.
Was crucified.
Title the ſame.
Text as before, 1 *Cor.* i. 23.

SERMON XXVII.
Dead and buried.
Title the ſame.
Text, 1 *Cor.* xv. 3. *For I delivered*, &c.

SERMON XXVIII.
He deſcended into hell.
Title the ſame.
Text, *Acts* ii. 27. *Becauſe thou*, &c.

SERMON XXIX.
He roſe again from the dead.
Title the ſame.
Text, *Acts* i. 3. *To whom alſo he ſhewed himſelf alive after*, &c.

SERMON XXX.
Article. The third day he roſe again.
Title the ſame.
Text, *Luke* xxiv. 46. *And he ſaid unto them, thus it is written*, &c.

SER-

SERMON XXXI.

He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right-hand, *&c.*

Title the ſame.

Text, *Mark* xvi. 19. *He was received up into heaven*, &c.

SERMON XXXII.

From whence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Running title, *The reaſonableneſs and equity of a future judgment.*

Eccleſ. iii. 17. *I ſaid in my heart, God ſhall judge*, &c.

SERMON XXXIII.

From whence he ſhall come, *&c.*

Running title, *The certainty and circumſtances of a future judgment from divine revelation.*

Acts x. 42. *And he commanded us to preach unto the people*, &c.

He had likewiſe form'd, juſt before his advancement to the Archbiſhopric, a deſign of a new book of Homilies, which he communicated to Biſhop BURNET and Biſhop PATRICK[w]; not with an intention to lay aſide the book of Homilies already eſtabliſhed, but to add a new one to that, which we have had now near two hundred years. He thought, that this was not full enough, and that it was, according to the ſtate of things at

[w] See Biſhop BURNET's Preface *to his* Eſſay towards a new book of Homilies, in ſeven ſermons, prepared at the deſire of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, and ſome other Biſhops, *printed with his* Sermons preached on ſeveral occaſions, *London* 1713, in 8vo.

at the time, in which it was compoſed, fitted chiefly to ſettle peoples minds right with relation to the Reformation, and in oppoſition to Popery; and though ſuch a work had been of great uſe to the nation, another book of Homilies, which ſhould contain a full and plain account both of the doctrinal and practical parts of the Chriſtian religion, and give a clear explanation of every thing relating to our holy faith, or to the conduct of our lives, was neceſſary chiefly for the inſtruction of the Clergy, and might alſo be a family-book for the general uſe of the nation.

He propoſed, that it ſhould conſiſt of ſixty-two Homilies, two and fifty for all the *Sundays* of the year, and ten for the following holydays; *Chriſtmas*, the *Circumciſion*, *Epiphany*, *Chriſt's preſentment in the Temple*, the *Annunciation*, *Aſh-Wedneſday*, *Good-Friday*, *Monday* and *Tueſday* in *Eaſter* week, the *Aſcenſion*, and *Monday* and *Tueſday* in *Whitſon* week.

He deſign'd, that the book ſhould begin at *Advent* in this order. The firſt ſhould give a view of the *Moſaical* diſpenſation. The ſecond was to explain the prophecies concerning the Meſſias during the firſt temple; and the third thoſe in the captivity in DANIEL, and the others, during the ſecond temple. The fourth was to ſhew what were the defects in that diſpenſation, and what was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a better covenant upon better promiſes; with a particular view of the nature of the prieſthood under this better diſpenſation, it being ordination *Sunday*.

Then from *Chriſtmas* to *Aſh-Wedneſday*, in a ſeries of ſermons, the circumſtances of the doctrine, the parables, and the miracles of Chriſt,

were

were to be copiouſly opened, with theſe particulars: On the feaſt of the *Circumciſion*, baptiſm was to be explained, as introduced inſtead of it. On *Epiphany*, the calling of the *Gentiles*, with the progreſs, that the Chriſtian religion made, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, with the perſecutions that followed, were to be unfolded. On the *Preſentment* in the *Temple*, the compliance with the authoriſed rituals of religion, even tho' the body of a church was much corrupted both with falſe doctrines and ſuperſtitious practices, was to be evinc'd, but with the neceſſary limitations of ſuch a degree of corruption, as ſhould make a ſeparation from the body not only lawful, but neceſſary. On the feaſt of the *Annunciation*, the hymns of the Virgin MARY, of ZACHARIAS and SIMEON, as being parts of the daily worſhip, were to be paraphraſed and explained. On *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and the firſt three *Sundays* in *Lent*, the whole doctrine of repentance was to be fully enlarg'd on; reſtitution and the reparation of injuries were to be much preſs'd; then the guilt of ſin, with the juſt puniſhments due for it, both in this life, and in the next, were to be ſet forth, to prepare men for a due ſenſe of the mercies of GOD in CHRIST. On the *Sunday* before *Eaſter*, the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, and every thing relating to it, were to be rightly ſtated. On *Good-Friday*, the ſufferings and death of Chriſt were to be fully ſet forth. On *Eaſter-day* the reſurrection was the proper ſubject, and both the evidence, and effects of it were to be inlarg'd upon. On *Monday* and *Tueſday* in that week the doctrines of the reſurrection, of the judgment to come, and of the bleſſedneſs of the ſaints in heaven, were to be illuſtrated.

In the ſix *Sundays* to *Whitſontide* the doctrine of juſtification was to be explained, and ſome expreſſions in the firſt book of Homilies, that ſeemed to carry juſtification by faith only to a height that wanted ſome mitigation, were to be well examined; and all that St. PAUL had written on that head, both to the *Romans* and the *Galatians*, was to be explained and reconciled to what St. JAMES wrote on the ſame ſubject. Next ſanctification was to be rightly ſtated, faith and hope were to be explained; the miſſion of the Apoſtles, and of their ſucceſſors, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the church, with their authority, and its limits, were to be aſſerted. Chriſt's aſcenſion, and his kingdom, as the Meſſias, were next to be proved and explained. The great effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt on *Whitſunday* was then to be dwelt on, upon which the authority of the New Teſtament is to be proved, in oppoſition to tradition; and the authenticalneſs of the Scriptures, as they are now in our hands, was to be evinc'd. For the *Monday* and *Tueſday* in *Whitſon* week, the neceſſity of inward aſſiſtances was to be ſhewn, and to be guarded againſt the danger of enthuſiaſm. On *Trinity Sunday*, the unity of GOD, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt were one GOD, was to be proved; with an exhortation to all in holy orders, to remember their vows, and to live and labour ſuitably to their profeſſion.

In the *Sundays* after *Trinity*, the ſum of the Ten Commandments, and every one of the ten, with the duties relating to it, were to be fully opened: In particular, humility, meekneſs, and contentment, and a freedom from envy and covetouſneſs. After this, ſome ſermons were to

be added concerning prayer, with a particular enlargement on all the parts of the Lord's Prayer. And the year was to end with ſome ſermons, inforcing on the people the care of their ſouls, and their duty to GOD, the creator of all things, and the governor of the world, and the ſaviour of all who believe.

This is the ſubſtance of that ſcheme, which the Archbiſhop in a long converſation with Biſhop BURNET had digeſted, and ſaid he would communicate to others, to be corrected or improved, as they ſhould adviſe. In order to this, Biſhop PATRICK undertook to examine carefully the Goſpels and Epiſtles for the whole year, to ſee how they agreed with this ſcheme, and to ſelect ſuch other portions of the Goſpels and Epiſtles, as might agree better with all the parts of it, and to prepare Collects proper for them. And from ſome diſcourſe with his Grace afterwards, Biſhop BURNET concluded, that he had made a good progreſs in it.

About the ſame time their Majeſties having publiſhed proclamations againſt profane ſwearing, breach of ſabbath, lewdneſs, and drunkenneſs, the Archbiſhop deſired Biſhop BURNET to draw, for an eſſay, Homilies on thoſe ſubjects, promiſing to take a large ſhare of the work to himſelf. He ſaid, that Biſhop PATRICK was willing to do the ſame, and that he knew ſeveral perſons, who had conſidered ſome matters relating to his ſcheme very critically, to whom he would aſſign ſuch parts of it, as they would be both very ready and able to execute well; and that he had propoſed the Deſign to Biſhop LLOYD, who approv'd highly of it, but would take no other ſhare in it, than the reviſing the

ſeveral compoſitions, that were given in towards the finiſhing the work.

When Biſhop BURNET had drawn up the five Homilies, which the Archbiſhop had preſcrib'd to him, and which were afterwards printed, with the amendments of Biſhop LLOYD, his Grace was ſo pleaſed with them, that he told the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, that his Lordſhip muſt take for his ſhare the whole Ten Commandments.

But ſoon after this they found a ſpirit of oppoſition growing ſo ſtrong, and ſo much animated and ſupported, that it was to no purpoſe to ſtruggle againſt it at that time. For which reaſon, this with many other good deſigns was reſerved to a better opportunity, and no further progreſs made in it.

The ſhort time, during which the Archbiſhop fill'd his See, prevented him from diſtinguiſhing, as he intended, ſeveral learned men, by the preferments in his own diſpoſal, or his intereſt with the crown. Among theſe was Dr. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, then Archdeacon of *Suffolk*, Prebendary of *Norwich*, and Rector of *Saham* in *Norfolk*, who in a letter to his brother, dated in that city on the 28th of *November* 1694 [x], lamented, that "his expectations of farther advancement were "all dead with the Archbiſhop:" Nor did he receive any additional preferment till *June* 1702, when he was promoted to the Deanry of *Norwich*, upon the death of Dr. HENRY FAIRFAX, deſcended of the noble family of that name, who had been expell'd from his Fellowſhip of *Magdalene-College* in *Oxford*, on account of his oppo-

[x] In the poſſeſſion of JOHN LOVEDAY, of *Cauſham* near *Reading*, Eſq;.

oppoſition to King JAMES II's mandate for admitting Mr. FARMER Preſident of that college.

The merits of Dr. HUMPHREY HODY likewiſe recommended him to his Grace, to whom he was appointed domeſtic Chaplain in *June* 1694 [y]. He was born *January* 1ſt. 1659 at *Odcombe* in *Somerſetſhire*, of which his father was Rector, and in 1676 ſent to *Wadham-College* in *Oxford*, of which he was choſen Fellow in 1684, having taken the degree of Maſter of arts in *June* 1682, as he did in *February* 169$\frac{2}{3}$ that of Doctor of divinity. His firſt performance was written while he was only Bachelor of arts in 1680 and 1681, being a *Latin* diſſertation againſt ARISTEAS's hiſtory of the ſeventy interpreters, printed at *Oxford* in 1685, in 8vo. This produc'd an anſwer from ISAAC VOSSIUS, Canon of *Windſor*, at the end of his *Appendix* to his obſervations on POMPONIUS MELA, printed at *London* in 1686 in 4to. Dr. HODY's next work was the *Prolegomena* to JOHN MALELA's Chronicle. His tranſlation into *Engliſh* of an antient *Greek* manuſcript in the public library at *Oxford*, publiſh'd at *London* in 1691, under the title of *The Unreaſonableneſs of a ſeparation from the new Biſhops*, engaged him in a controverſy with Mr. DODWELL, which produced ſeveral pieces on both ſides on that ſubject. He had been Chaplain to Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, before he was taken into the family of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, whoſe ſucceſſor TENNISON continued him in the ſame office, and gave him the Rectory of *Charte* near *Canterbury* upon the death

[y] Diſſertatio de vita & ſcriptis HUMPHREDI HODII, autore S. JEBB, M. D. *p. xxvi, xxvii. præfixa libro* HODII de Græcis illuſtribus linguæ Græcæ literarumque humanitatis inſtauratoribus, *Edit. Londini* 1742.

of Mr. WHARTON, on the 5th of *March* $169\frac{4}{5}$; which Dr. HODY immediately exchang'd for that of *St. Michael Royal* in *London*. This living he held till his death on the 20th of *January* $170\frac{6}{7}$, together with the *Greek* Profeſſorſhip at *Oxford*, to which he was choſen in *March* $169\frac{8}{9}$, and the Archdeaconry of *Oxford* conferr'd upon him in 1704. He had prepar'd for the preſs a valuable work form'd from the lectures, which he had read in the courſe of his profeſſorſhip, and containing an account of the lives, characters, and works of thoſe illuſtrious *Greeks*, who introduc'd the ſtudy of their antient language and learning into *Italy*. But it continued in manuſcript above thirty years after his death, and was publiſhed at *London* in 1742 in 8vo, by SAMUEL JEBB, M. D. under the title of *De Græcis illuſtribus linguæ Græcæ literarumque humaniorum inſtauratoribus, eorum vitis, ſcriptis, & elogiis, libri duo*, with an account in *Latin* of the author's life, extracted chiefly from a manuſcript one written by himſelf in *Engliſh*.

Another of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, but leſs eminent for his writings, which conſiſted only of a few ſermons, was Dr. GEORGE ROYSE, born at *Martock* in *Somerſetſhire*, about the year 1655, and admitted a Semi-commoner of *St. Edmund's Hall* in *Oxford* in the beginning of *April* 1671 [z], where he took the degree of Bachelor of arts *March* 1ſt, $167\frac{4}{5}$ [a], and was ſoon after elected Fellow of *Oriel College*. Upon his taking the degree of Maſter, *May* 12th, 1678 [b], he enter'd into holy orders, and became Chaplain, firſt to RICHARD Lord WENMAN in *Oxfordſhire*,

[z] WOOD. Ath. Oxon. *Vol. II. p.* 965.
[a] Faſti, *Vol. II. col.* 195. [b] Ibid. *col.* 209.

ſhire, then to GEORGE Earl of BERKLEY, and afterwards to King WILLIAM, whom he attended in that capacity to *Ireland* in *June* 1690 [c], having been created Doctor of divinity at *Oxford* on the 22d of *May* that year [d]. After his return from *Ireland*, he was made Chaplain to Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, who gave him the Rectory of *Newington* in *Oxfordſhire*, vacant by the death of Dr. HENRY MAURICE, Chaplain to his predeceſſor; and on the 1ſt of *December* following Dr. ROYSE was elected Provoſt of *Oriel College*, in the room of Dr. ROBERT SAY deceas'd [e]. He was afterwards advanced to the Deanry of *Briſtol* upon the death of Dr. WILLIAM LEVET, being inſtall'd in it on the 10th of *March* 169$\frac{3}{4}$, and died in *April* 1708 [f].

Among others, in whoſe favour his Grace exerciſed the prerogative annexed to the Archiepiſcopal See of conferring degrees in the ſeveral faculties, was Mr. ROBERT HOOKE, Profeſſor of geometry in *Greſham College*, to whom he gave that of Doctor of phyſic in *December* 1691 [g]; who well deſerved ſuch a diſtinction by his uncommon induſtry and ſagacity in the ſtudy of natural philoſophy, and the fertility of his invention in mechanics.

His Grace was likewiſe inſtrumental in procuring the Deanry of *Durham* for Dr. THOMAS COMBER, with whom he had lived long in great friendſhip, and for whoſe learning and piety he had an high eſteem. That Deanry being vacant in 1691 by the refuſal of Dr. DENNIS GRANVILLE, younger brother of JOHN the firſt Earl of

[c] Athen. *ubi ſupra.*
[d] Faſti, *col.* 235.
[e] Athen. *ubi ſupra.*
[f] WILLIS's Survey, *Vol. I. p.* 787.
[g] WARD's Lives of the Profeſſors of *Greſham-College*, *p.* 188.

of *Bath*, to take the oaths, the King was conſulting with ſome of the leading men at court, to whom it ſhould be given. The Marquis of *Caermarthen*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, and the Archbiſhop, were in the preſence-chamber, when the Earl of *Falconberg*, who had been reduced from a wavering ſtate to a firm adherence to Proteſtantiſm by the private diſcourſe and writings of Dr. COMBER, eſpecially his *Advice to the Roman Catholics*, propoſed that Divine to them as a proper perſon for that preferment. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, being as much influenc'd by his regard for the Doctor, as the Marquis was connected with him by family, they immediately approved of Lord *Falconberg*'s propoſal, and Dr. COMBER being recommended to his Majeſty was collated to the Deanry [h]. The year following his Grace requeſted the new Dean to write an anſwer to a virulent libel againſt the goverment, call'd *Great Britain's juſt complaint*, of which Sir JAMES MONTGOMERY was ſuppoſed to be the author: And the Dean having finiſhed his confutation of it, ſent it to the Archbiſhop, who immediately cauſed it to be printed, though without the writer's name [i]. His Grace had many years before interpoſed to moderate the differences between Dr. COMBER and Dr. BURNET, on account of the *Hiſtory of the Regale*, publiſhed by the latter in 1682, to which the former having written an anſwer, ſent it to Dr. LAKE, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who committed it to the preſs, after having ſhewn it to ſome of Dr. BURNET's friends; which occaſioning much altercation both in words and writings, Dr. TILLOTSON uſed

[h] Extract of a MS. Life of Dr. THOMAS COMBER, ſome time Dean of *Durham*, written by himſelf.

[i] Ibid.

uſed all his intereſt with the contending parties for an accommodation. And two years after, when Dr. COMBER was preparing for the preſs the *ſecond part* of the *Hiſtory of Tythes*, againſt Mr. SELDEN, and Dr. BURNET's book abovemention'd, and a treatiſe aſcrib'd to father PAUL, Dr. BURNET being then in diſfavour with the court, and going into *France*, their common friend Dr. TILLOTSON requeſted Dr. COMBER to omit all mention of that Divine in his work, which he readily conſented to do [k].

Such are the memorials relating to the incomparable Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, which the diſtance of above half a century from his death has allowed me to collect; a taſk too long neglected by others, and now undertaken by me from a juſt apprehenſion, that moſt of the preſent materials for a life of him would in all probability have been loſt in the courſe of a few years more. I can only wiſh, that the public may receive the ſame ſatisfaction from the reſult of my labour, as I have from the proſecution of this attempt to do juſtice to the memory of one of the greateſt and beſt of men. I have at preſent nothing farther to add upon this ſubject, except what will be found in the *Appendix*, of ſuch papers, as having come to my hands ſince the impreſſion of the greateſt part of this *Life*, could not be made uſe of in their proper places: And I ſhall make ſome amends for my own imperfections, by introducing there the judicious obſervations of a writer [l], whoſe friendſhip I muſt always eſteem a ſingular advantage to myſelf, as his works are univerſally allow'd to be to the joint intereſts of learning and religion.

A P-

[k] MS. Life of Dr. COMBER.

[l] The Rev. Mr. JORTIN.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Some memorials of the moſt reverend Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, *late Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *Written upon the news of his death by* J. B[a]. *M. A. for his own private ſatisfaction, and out of honour to his Grace's memory.*

I Have reaſon to be nearly and cloſely concern'd, upon the hearing of this unexpected news, and to lament it, not only in reference to myſelf, conſidering my *quondam* relation to him, as his firſt admitted pupil, about the latter end of *March* 165$\frac{0}{1}$, now almoſt 44 years ago; but alſo upon account of the public loſs both to this kingdom and church, by the taking away of ſo great a perſon, the chief Metropolitan of this church, and Privy-Councellor to their moſt gracious Majeſties, the prime ornament of his age, the love and admiration of all good men, of all ranks and qualities. I do, and muſt ever acknowledge with thankfulneſs to almighty GOD, that it was a great bleſſing, and a merciful diſpoſal of his providence to me, that I was placed under the tuition of ſo excellent a perſon, as he was then, being but junior Bachelor, and only a Probationer for a Fellowſhip in *Clare-Hall Cambridge.*

[a] JOHN BEARDMORE, who was admitted ſizar and pupil to *Dominus* TILLOTSON on the 7th of *April* 1651, according to the regiſter of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge.*

bridge. There were ſeveral others admitted under his tuition the ſame year, and, among the reſt, the now worthy Maſter of the *Charter-houſe*, Dr. BURNET. But he had other pupils beſides, which were put over to him by Mr. CLARKSON, Fellow of the ſaid college, who had been his own tutor.

He was at thoſe years a very good ſcholar, an acute logician and philoſopher, a quick diſputant, of a ſolid judgment, and no way unqualified for the truſt and charge incumbent upon him. He ſpoke *Latin* exceedingly well, read lectures to us that were admitted under him, out of BURGERSDICIUS's logic, with great ſmartneſs and judgment; and when we went to take a new lecture, he examined us about the former, according to the author, and his own explanations. When we went to prayers in his chamber a-nights, he put us for ſome time at firſt upon conſtruing or rendering into *Latin* a chapter in the *Greek* Teſtament, in which he was a very great critic; and afterwards, in proceſs of time, he uſed to put ſome or other upon giving account of the day's reading; after which account given, he would put them upon defending their author and his ſenſe or tenets. This was ever done in *Latin*; for I know not, that ever he ſpoke a word of *Engliſh* to us, whilſt we were ſo together, or permitted any of us to do ſo. He ſometimes had us to declaim or diſpute before him in his chamber alſo; but this was done in the afternoon upon ſuch days, as he appointed. We alſo went to him to prayers, for the moſt part duly on Lord's-day nights, when he examined ſome or other of the ſermon or ſermons heard that day; and this was done in *Engliſh*; for that

that was the only day, when he ſpake to us, or we gave him our accounts, in *Engliſh*.

His prayers were (according to the uſe of thoſe times) of that ſort, which we call *conceived prayers*, in which he had a very great faculty; but always perform'd them with gravity and fervour; as he did alſo, when it was his courſe to perform prayer in the chapel.

In the week-days, when he had his prayer, as we were going forth out of his chamber, he uſually recalled ſome one of us, and then would uſe thoſe he called, with a fair freedom; diſcourſe them kindly, encourage to ſtudiouſneſs, ſeriouſneſs, and diligence, or tell them of any fault he either obſerv'd or heard of in them; and thoſe, that deſerv'd it, he would reprove very ſharply.

Thus he was a very good tutor, and careful of his pupils behaviours and manners; had a true love for thoſe of us, that he ſaw deport themſelves well, and was reſpectful to them; but very ſevere upon thoſe, that did otherwiſe.

As for other my obſervations concerning him, whilſt I was related to him, and knew him, they are ſuch as theſe, that follow:

He was very religious and ſerious; pray'd much in ſecret, in his bed-chamber: He uſed his voice in them, but ſo as none could perceive or hear the ſame, as I think, except myſelf, who kept juſt over him. He ſeemed to be much contrite in his devotions; and he doubtleſs read the ſcriptures much, it appearing by his ſermons, that he was very ready in them.

He was a very attentive hearer of ſermons, of which in that time there was both great and good ſtore, he generally hearing four every Lord's

day, beſides the weekly lecture at *Trinity-Church* on *Wedneſdays*, which was preached by a combination of the worthieſt and beſt preachers in the univerſity at that time, all of them Fellows of colleges.

That time being a time of freedom, the moſt prevailing men were generally contra-remonſtrants, and uſed to preach much upon thoſe ſubjects, as Dr. HILL [b] eſpecially. Mr. TILLOTSON heard him conſtantly on Lord's day mornings at *St. Michael's-Church*, and in the afternoons often at *Trinity*: But it did not appear afterwards, that he imbibed that ſort of theology, but rather was plainly averſe to it. There were divers young preachers came up in thoſe times, who were of a freer temper and genius; ſuch as were Mr. SAMUEL JACOMB [c], Mr. BRIGHT of *Emanuel-College* [d], Mr. PATRICK, now

[b] THOMAS HILL, D. D. educated at *Emanuel-College* in the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and incorporated as Maſter of arts in that of *Oxford* on the 9th of *July* 1622. He was afterwards Rector of *Tychmarſh* in *Northamptonſhire*, and one of the aſſembly of Divines, and at laſt Maſter of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, in the room of Dr. THOMAS COMBER ejected by the authority of the Long-Parliament, before whom Dr. HILL was a frequent preacher. He died in 1653, being ſucceeded by Dr. ARROWSMITH, and his funeral ſermon was preach'd by Dr. ANTHONY TUCKNEY, and printed in 1654 in 8vo.

[c] He was B. D. and Fellow of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards choſen Miniſter of *St. Mary Woolnoth* in *Lombard-ſtreet* in *London*, where he died on the 12th of *June* 1659, in the 30th year of his age, his funeral ſermon being preach'd on the 17th of that month by SIMON PATRICK, B. D. then Miniſter of *Batterſea* in *Surry*.

[d] GEORGE BRIGHT, afterwards D. D. Rector of *Loughborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*, Chaplain to MARY Princeſs of *Orange*, and after the revolution Dean of *St. Aſaph*. He publiſhed in 1695 *ſix ſermons* preach'd before the Queen at *Whitehall*, and was editor of the firſt volume of Dr. LIGHTFOOT's works, printed at *London* 1684 in folio.

now Biſhop of *Ely*, and others; who went not that way. Mr. TILLOTSON ſeem'd to be an eclectic man, and not to bind himſelf to opinions.

He was a perſon of very good wit, ſharp, and acute, pleaſant in converſation, but with much decorum and gravity for his years.

I know not, that he was of thoſe called hard and plodding ſtudents, nor affected to be ſo. He did not note or pick out by way of Common-place, or otherwiſe, out of books he read, but only mark'd them, or ſome of them, that he meant to familiarize, with a black pen. He read TULLY well; and I think I have heard ſay alſo, TWISSE's *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*; not that he was principled with the doctrine of it, which, I have touch'd before, it appears he was not, but becauſe of the acuteneſs of that author in diſputation.

He was not imploy'd much in exerciſe either in public or in the college, but rather declined it all he could; but what he was put upon, he perform'd it very well.

There was a kind of feud in the college betwixt the old and the new Fellows; for 'tis well known what differences in opinion and affection the civil wars created in the nation, which differences extended to the univerſities, and the particular colleges and ſocieties therein, as well as to other places. The old Fellows, that then remained in the college, had indeed ſo far diſpenſed with their judgments, as to have either taken the covenant, and after that the *engagement*, as it was called, or otherwiſe to have comply'd ſo far with the prevalent powers of thoſe times, as to have kept their Fellowſhips; but yet ſtill very likely in their inward thoughts and inclinations to lean to the antient government, both in church and

and ſtate. I believe Mr. TILLOTSON then, according to the prejudices of his education, might be ſomething byaſſed the other way (tho' not very hotly, after I came under him) and ſo was one of thoſe, who lay rather under the diſguſt of the ſenior Fellows: yet he kept himſelf ſo even and temperate in his ſpeeches and other demeanor of himſelf, as that I never heard or obſerv'd any particular reflections upon him from the other party; and in ſpecial I have obſerv'd, that Mr. JACKSON, the Preſident or ſenior of the Fellows, ſince Dr. JACKSON, ever gave a fair reſpect to him.

Tho' he was Probationer to a Fellowſhip in 1651 (which I think was by *mandamus* from the higher powers) yet he was not actually admitted into a Fellowſhip of ſome conſiderable time, but lived at his own charge. At length two Fellowſhips being declared void, he was received into one of them, and one Mr. NEWCE (who alſo had lived as Probationer) was taken into the other.

I have heard him ſay, the ſociety dealt not fairly with him about that matter. For when after the reſtauration in the year 1660, thoſe Fellows, who had been turn'd out upon account of their not taking the covenant, came to be re-admitted into their Fellowſhips, and, among the reſt, the famous Dr. PETER GUNNING; he, being then a man of intereſt and power, would needs have it, that the Fellowſhip, into which Mr. TILLOTSON had been admitted, was formerly his, tho' the latter told me, he was ſure it was not, but one, that was fairly and legally void upon a Fellow's leaving it by ceſſion. But the beforeſaid Dr. GUNNING having ſome

perſonal pique againſt Mr. TILLOTSON, (tho' at the ſame time he ſaid he could ſcarcely tell, wherein he had diſoblig'd him) yet, I ſay, Dr. GUNNING ſo wrought with the ſociety, as that they complied with his pretences, and ſo put Mr. TILLOTSON out of his Fellowſhip. This, I have heard him ſay, he had reaſon to take ill from the ſociety, as not having done him right, but dealing unkindly with him, who, if there had been nothing elſe in it, deſerv'd to have been eſteem'd a benefactor to the college upon ſuch accounts, as I ſhall touch upon by and by. As for Dr. GUNNING, he was very hot and earneſt to put this diſreſpect upon him; for tho' he knew, that he was to be choſen Maſter of *Bennet-College* the very next day, upon the vacancy by the death of Dr. LOVE; and tho' Mr. TILLOTSON's merits to the college were inſiſted upon and pleaded by ſome (at leaſt) of the ſociety; yet he was ſo vehement in the buſineſs, as to ſay, "let juſtice be done firſt, and then, if they "were minded to do Mr. TILLOTSON a favour, "they might do that afterward."

In the year 1655, Mr. TILLOTSON was appointed to keep the Philoſophy Act, at the publick commencement; which he performed to much ſatisfaction, yea even to admiration.

Soon after, he went to *London*, and was tutor to PRIDEAUX's ſon or ſons, who was then Attorney-general to OLIVER the Protector; and in that ſtation it came to paſs, that he was inſtrumental in procuring the good to the college intimated before. For by the Attorney's means, he obtained a thouſand pounds to be paid out of the Exchequer to the college for wood and ſtone prepared for carrying on its building, but

ſeized

ſeized by the parliament-party towards fortifying the caſtle at *Cambridge* in the time of the war. Moreover whilſt he reſided at *London*, it happen'd, that he fell into acquaintance with an old gentleman, one Mr. DIGGONS, who had formerly been Fellow-commoner of *Clare-Hall*, a very humourſome perſon, and had taken diſguſt againſt ſome of his own relations. With him Mr. TILLOTSON wrought ſo, as to prevail with him to leave 300 *l. per Annum* to the college.

The college had been then very low, much in debt; and therefore both theſe benefits came as ſeaſonably, as they did unexpectedly. Moreover he told me, that he had received very little or no profit by his Fellowſhip all the time he was poſſeſſed of it; but let all go to the benefit of the college.

During his abode at *London* in this private ſtate, he improved very much; among other ways, by hearing the beſt ſermons, and converſing with very worthy perſons, as particularly Biſhop BROWNRIG, who was then preacher at the *Temple*; Dr. HACKET, afterwards Biſhop of *Litchfield*; and of the other perſuaſion, *viz.* Preſbyterian, I have heard him profeſs his great eſteem of Dr. BATES, both for his learning and good temper.

He did not appear as a preacher till after the reſtoration, 1660, taking orders (as he hath told me) from the old *Scottiſh* Biſhop of *Galloway* [e],

[e] Dr. THOMAS SYDSERF, the only *Scots* Biſhop, who was living at the reſtoration, when he came up to *London*, not doubting, but that he ſhould be advanc'd to the Primacy of *Scotland*, tho' he fail'd of his expectations, having given offence to the *Engliſh* Biſhops by his promiſcuous ordinations, when he firſt came to *England*. For when the act of uniformity required all men, who held any benefices there,

who at that time had great recourſe made to him on that account. King CHARLES II. was then ſo favourable to the Preſbyterian party, that he offered Biſhoprics to ſome of that perſuaſion; as to old Mr. CALAMY for one; and Mr. TILLOTSON told me in the year 1661, that the good old man deliberated about it ſome conſiderable time, profeſſing to ſee the great inconvenience of the Preſbyterian parity of miniſters. And Mr. TILLOTSON ſaid, if Mr. CALAMY had accepted of the Biſhopric of *Lichfield*, which was offered him, Dr. BATES had been Dean, and Mr. MILES and himſelf were deſigned for two of the Canons. But, as he added alſo, though Mr. CALAMY was in a manner induc'd to a willingneſs to have embraced the King's offer, yet Mrs. CALAMY being againſt it, over-ruled her huſband, and ſo the matter went off.

Upon the firſt beginning of his preaching, he ſhew'd his great learning, reaſon, judgment, and abilities. Witneſs his ſermon preach'd at the morning lecture at *St. Giles Cripplegate* in *September* 1661, on *Matt.* vii. 12. upon which ſubject he hath treated very judiciouſly and comprehenſively; though I heard him ſay, he preach'd

there, to be epiſcopally ordained, he, who by obſerving the ill effects of the former violence of the *Scots* Biſhops, was become very moderate, with others of the *Scots* Clergy, who gathered about him, ordain'd all thoſe of the *Engliſh* Clergy, who came to him, without demanding either oaths or ſubſcriptions of them. This was ſuppoſed by ſome to be done by him, merely for a ſubſiſtance from the fees for the letters of orders granted by him, for he was poor. However he was tranſlated to the Biſhopric of *Orkney*, one of the beſt revenues of any of the Sees in *Scotland*, in which he lived little more than a year. This is the account of him in Biſhop BURNET, *vol.* II. *p.* 132, 133. who in another place, *p.* 26. ſtiles him a *very learned* and *good man*.

preach'd that ſermon for Dr. BATES upon but little warning.

He ſoon became Lecturer at *St. Laurence Jury*, which he continued till his advancement to the See of *Canterbury*.

In the beginning of the year 1663 he was preſented to the parſonage of *Ketton* in *Suffolk*, by Sir THOMAS BARNARDISTON, whoſe ſeat is there. It was void by the going out of old Mr. FAIRCLOUGH upon account of Nonconformity after the *Bartholomew*-act 1662; but he ſtaid not there long, as being choſen preacher at *Lincolns-Inn* about *Michaelmas* after, and in that ſtation alſo he continued till his being promoted as above. And how much he eſteem'd that honourable ſociety, he hath divers ways made public acknowledgment; and there was no kindneſs loſt between them and him; for the great men of that houſe gave a very great deference to him, as is publickly known.

After the preferment of Dr. SETH WARD, miniſter of *St. Laurence-Jewry*, to a Biſhoprick, Dr. JOHN WILKINS ſucceeded him there, where, as was ſaid, Mr. TILLOTSON being Lecturer, this, as I ſuppoſe, gave occaſion to a very great intimacy and friendſhip betwixt that learned and worthy perſon and Mr. TILLOTSON, which the latter valued not a little.

Dr. WILKINS had a reputation, and that moſt deſervedly, of being a perſon of extraordinary worth and learning. Beſides his ſkill in divinity, he was accompliſh'd in the knowledge of the beſt philoſophy of all ſorts, that was in vogue at that time; not that crabbed diſputatious ſort of it, which ſome perſons have attain'd to, that have liv'd long in the univerſity; but that more

free, generous, benign, and good humour'd way of philoſophizing, that began to appear openly in that age, tho' it had many oppoſers and maligners. Dr. WILKINS had been for ſome years before the happy reſtoration of King CHARLES II. the great encourager of this method of philoſophizing in *Oxford*, where he was head of *Wadham-College*; and had begun a ſort of ſociety for the communicating of experiments in natural philoſophy, for the making it uſeful and beneficial to mankind in the affairs of human life: and when he was made Maſter of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, he ſet up a like ſociety there; and after the coming in of King CHARLES II. was the chief inſtrument in forming that, which then came to be called the *Royal Society*. Which contrivance, how taking it was, appeared in that ſo many perſons of nobleſt rank and higheſt quality, in a ſhort time, enter'd themſelves into it, and the King himſelf vouchſafed to be head of it. What a value the learned and ingenious of that ſociety had for Dr. WILKINS, appears by its hiſtory writ by Dr. SPRAT, by Mr. HOOK's *Microſcopical experiments*, and divers others of them, that have publiſh'd their books. As for theology, how able he was, appears by the two little books he put forth about the *Gift of prayer* and that of *preaching*, the little tract called the *Beauty of Providence*, with ſome ſermons before the King, appointed to be printed, his treatiſe about *natural religion*, and a volume of *ſermons* printed ſince his death.

But that, which made him moſt remark'd upon, was his great moderation in the points agitated betwixt the Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts,

formiſts, about liturgy, ceremonies, *&c.* which made him become the object of odium and envy to a very great party in our church; *i. e.* all the Biſhops and churchmen, that were very high and zealous for the particular eſtabliſhments in thoſe points; inſomuch that he was look'd upon as the head of the *Latitudinarians*, as they were then ſtiled; *i. e.* perſons that had no great liking for the liturgy or ceremonies, or indeed, the government of this church, but yet had attained to ſuch a largeneſs and freedom of judgment, as that they could conform, tho' without any warmth or affection for theſe things: And thoſe, that went this way, were look'd upon as the worſt and moſt dangerous enemies of the church of *England*.

Nevertheleſs this Dr. WILKINS had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and had ſuch conſiderable friends, as that he came to be made Biſhop of *Cheſter* about the year 1669 or 1670. But ſtill perſiſting in the ſame moderation and temper, he, together with Lord Chief-Juſtice HALE, and ſome very few more, became the promoter of a bill of *comprehenſion*, as it was called, *viz.* to take in, and comprehend ſome, at leaſt, of the better temper'd Nonconformiſts, in a capacity of being reſtor'd to the public ſervice of the church. But the project had too many oppoſers, and ſo came to be laid aſide; and this learned and moderate Biſhop lived not long after the rejection of it.

I am ſenſible, this is a digreſſion from my intended hiſtory of Mr. TILLOTSON; but yet it may be uſeful to the better underſtanding ſome paſſages about him. For Mr. TILLOTSON, by the advantage before obſerv'd, *viz.* of being

Lecturer of that church, whereof the Doctor was Rector, came to have the moſt intimate acquaintance and converſation with him, and married his daughter-in-law.

I remember, that about *May* 1665 being at *Coventry*, I went to wait upon Biſhop HACKET, as he was returning from *London* to *Litchfield*; who ſpoke much to the commendation of Mr. TILLOTSON, as to his learning, and preaching, and particularly prais'd his ſermon, then newly printed, called *The wiſdom of being religious*, as the beſt thing againſt Atheiſm, that ever he ſaw in the compaſs of a ſermon. "But, *ſaith he*, "he is now fallen in with Dr. WILKINS, and "is become a Preſbyterian, and enemy of the "church of *England*;" or to that purpoſe: "and, *ſays he*, he never came to ſee me all "this time I have been at *London*; whereas "formerly I have converſed with him with "great familiarity." I did by letter acquaint him with the importance of the Biſhop's complaint of him, who return'd to me, that the opinion, which I myſelf had expreſt of Dr. WILKINS's worth, was true and juſt: That the Biſhop's fears of himſelf being become a Preſbyterian were cauſeleſs and groundleſs; for he had long before fix'd his principles about church-government, and was in no likelihood of altering them; and that it was by reaſon of his much buſineſs, that he had not waited on his Lordſhip when in town.

He was an eminent encounterer of Atheiſm and Infidelity, which began very publicly to appear; and the firſt ſpecimen he gave of his ability that way, in public, was the fore-mentioned ſermon preacht before the Lord Mayor

at

at *St. Paul*'s in the year 166¾ on *Job* xxviii. 28. printed with this title, *The wiſdom of being religious.*

Then he ſet himſelf alſo moſt profeſſedly againſt Popery, and all the main limbs of it; and his ſermons were moſt clear and diſtinct upon all the points he undertook, and ſtruck home.

His firſt publick eſſay and appearance againſt Popery was his confutation of Mr. J. SERJEANT's book, who with great confidence and aſſurance thought to build up Popery, and confute Proteſtancy, by ſelf-evident principles. But Dr. TILLOTSON did ſo maul and unravel him, as that, tho' Mr. SERJEANT made ſome kind of faint attempts againſt him, he could never recover himſelf of the blows given him; only whin'd and complain'd.

Next, that noted ſermon of his preach'd at *Whitehall* in the beginning of the year 1672, about the difficulty of ſalvation in the *Roman* church on 1 *Cor.* iii. 15. which, they ſay, ſo nettled the Duke of *York*[f], who to that time had concealed himſelf, being a Papiſt but in maſquerade, and frequented the King's chapel, that afterwards he forſook it, and never more appeared there. It is obſervable, that this was about that time, when King CHARLES put forth his declaration of indulgence, which he recalled upon the Parliament's addreſs to him againſt it; and ſoon after, in the ſame ſeſſion of Parliament, or the next after, was paſſed the firſt teſt-act.

Then

[f] The offence, which this ſermon gave, is ſaid to have occaſion'd it to be forbid to be printed; but a noble Lord having borrow'd a copy of it of the Dean, it was printed privately without his knowledge in 1673.

Then followed the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, which gave occaſion to him to expoſe the principles of the *Roman* church, as to deſtroying perſons upon account of religion; which he did notably in that ſermon he preach'd before the Houſe of Commons on *Luke* ix. 55, 56. *November* the 5th 1678.

His concern againſt Popery was exceeding hearty and ſincere; he had ſtudied and thoroughly conſidered the nature, and genius, and tendency of it. He was mighty ſenſible of the danger this nation was in, of being either wheedled or forced into it. I believe the apprehenſions hereof kept him in vehement thoughts and agitations of mind for many years; ſo that he ſcarcely ever preach'd a ſermon without ſome very home-blow againſt it, or ſome doctrine or practice of that church; ſo that he was both hated, and yet feared, by thoſe of that way.

I need not much inſiſt upon his zeal againſt debauchery and prophaneneſs; for theſe he ever ſharply reprov'd and expos'd.

It ſhould appear, that he had many good friends; and above all the reſt, King CHARLES II. who, as I have heard, much eſteemed him for his preaching. When Dr. TURNER, the Dean of *Canterbury*, died, I have heard, that three very great perſons applied to the King to make him Dean of *Canterbury* [g]. The King was then juſt going for *Newmarket*, and put them all off till his return. Upon which, when he

[g] It appears from a MS. account of the public tranſactions, in the poſſeſſion of the right honourable the Lord Viſcount *Weymouth*, that the King was gone to *Newmarket* on the 3d of *October* 1672, five days before the death of Dr. TURNER; upon which Dr. TILLOTSON was named as ſtanding faireſt to ſucceed him in the Deanry; as he did immediately after his Majeſty's return to *Whitehall* on the 19th of that month.

he came to hear them propoſe the perſon, on whoſe behalf they ſpoke, it appear'd, that they all concurred in Dr. TILLOTSON. The great perſons, that beſought the King, were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that then was, Dr. SHELDON, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Berkley*; which when the King underſtood, and that they did it not by any mutual correſpondence, but each one out of their own particular reſpect to the Doctor, he was very well pleaſed, and ſo preferred him very readily. So alſo he preferred him after to be one of the Reſidentiaries of *St. Paul's*, at the ſame time, that Dr. SANCROFT, Dean of *St. Paul's*, was made Archbiſhop, and Dr. STILLINGFLEET Dean in his ſtead.

About the years 1680 and 81, when, after the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, things began to be turned the quite contrary way, and great heats aroſe between the Tories and Whigs, the Dean of *Canterbury* ſtill perſiſted in his former way of zeal againſt Popery, and moderation towards Diſſenters, and preſerving himſelf as unconcerned, as might be, in thoſe heats. He had then a difficult taſk of it, and lay under ſuſpicions and cenſures; partly for ſticking cloſe to Lord RUSSEL, viſiting him in priſon, and accompanying him to the ſcaffold, and there praying with and for him. Dr. BURNET was fain to leave the kingdom upon that and ſome ſuch like accounts, and betake himſelf to travel, not returning till he came in with the Prince of *Orange* in 1688. But Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, however it came to paſs, became the Dean's advocate, vindicating him in his *animadverſions* upon Lord RUSSEL's paper.

What

What by reaſon of the heats and diviſions, that were among people, and what becauſe of the much company, that flock'd in to him, the town was become very uneaſy to him; and therefore he bought a houſe at *Edmonton*, whither he might retire, and be a little more private: Which accordingly he did for the moſt part for five or ſix years, *viz.* the laſt part of King CHARLES's reign, and the ſhort reign of King JAMES the IId, which, we may eaſily underſtand, were become very adverſe and oppoſite to him. Yet all that time he continued his preaching both at *Lincolns-Inn* and at *St. Laurence*, with his uſual freedom, or rather with greater zeal and fervency, to confirm his auditors againſt Popery. And, bleſſed be GOD, as many adverſaries as he had, and thoſe great ones too, yet GOD was with him; ſo that none of them ſet upon him to hurt or moleſt him, ſo far as I ever heard.

Upon the wonderful deliverance of this nation from Popery and arbitrary power, by the extraordinary providence of GOD, and, under the ſame, by the matchleſs expedition of the Prince of *Orange* anno 1688, he ſoon ſhewed his affection, and delivered his ſenſe of it, in his ſermon at *Lincolns-Inn* upon *Ezra* ix. 13, 14. preach'd on the thankſgiving-day appointed for that occaſion: Upon which day appointed for the country, I myſelf alſo preach'd on the very ſame text. In that ſermon he ſaid, that nothing could obſtruct our happy ſettlement, except ſome miſtaken principles concerning allegiance, with other remarkable expreſſions.

I have heard, that when ſome Biſhoprics were vacant, and he was offered one by King WIL-

LIAM,

LIAM, he anſwered, that had he been in ſuch health and vigour, as to be able to manage the duties of the Epiſcopal function, he would not have declined the office; but he found decays in himſelf, and ſo deſired to be excuſed.

When Dr. STILLINGFLEET was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, he was made Dean of *St. Paul's*; which the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* in his funeral ſermon for him intimates was, becauſe he was not willing to have more than one ſingle preferment; and that his holding two, *viz.* the Deanry of *Canterbury*, and one of the Reſidentiary-Prebends of *St. Paul's*, was rather in compliance with the times, and becauſe he would not decline what was ſo frankly offered him by King CHARLES II. than out of any inclination or liking of his own.

Next, upon the Nonjurant Biſhops altogether refuſing to come into the government of their Majeſties, he, after much reluctancy, was at length prevailed with by the King and Queen to accept the Archbiſkopric of *Canterbury*. How he carried himſelf in that high ſtation, is better known to the world than to myſelf, being at ſo great a diſtance, and having had no correſpondence with him. What I ſhall add further, ſhall only be ſomething concerning his character; which yet I am ſenſible I am inſufficient to give, for the reaſons now mentioned, were there no other.

He was a perſon of unblemiſh'd converſation, not to be charged with any either intemperance or covetouſneſs, or any other vice whatſoever; which, as they are ſpots even in a layman's life, ſo they appear much more foul in a clergyman. He lived well upon the incomes of his preferments,

ments, kept a good table, and was hoſpitable and charitable; did not enrich himſelf, nor lay up much money: And 'tis ſaid, that his advancement to the Metropolitical See, as he managed matters, did not increaſe, but much diminiſh his eſtate. For he enjoy'd it not full four years, and beſides the firſt-fruits, which are high, and other public payments, he built an apartment for his Lady, paid a conſiderable debt of Archbiſhop SANCROFT's, kept a very ſplendid and plentiful table, was bountiful and charitable in relieving the poor, beſides other ways of draining his purſe. He was not a man, that valued the world, or laboured to be rich, or ſtudied his temporal intereſt; but, as he taught others, ſo he lived above the world, and the advantages of it; knew how to uſe it, ſo as not to abuſe it.

He was one of a very ſweet nature, friendly and obliging, and ready to ſerve his friends any way that he could by his intereſt and authority, when they applied to him; and this he did freely and generouſly, without any oblique deſigns to ſerve himſelf.

He was very affable and converſible, not ſour or ſullen, not proud or haughty, not addicted to any thing of moroſeneſs, affected gravity, or to keep at a great diſtance from thoſe, that were much his inferiors; but open and free, gentle and eaſy, pleaſant and amiable, to thoſe eſpecially, that he was acquainted with, or that he look'd upon as honeſt and good.

His common and familiar diſcourſe was witty and facetious, but very inoffenſive; not at all biting or diſobliging; nothing that was vain or trifling, nothing calumniatory or reflecting upon

others reputation, abſent or preſent, paſſed from him; and even as to thoſe, that differed from him, he was fair and candid in his cenſures of them.

His more grave diſcourſes were very weighty; he ſpoke apophthegms; was very ſerious in giving good counſels, or reſolving doubts, or recommending religion and virtue.

He was wiſe and prudent in his whole deportment, ſpeaking and acting all things with great evenneſs and ſteadineſs, not with bluſtring or temerity, or ſo as to give juſt offence to any. He underſtood human nature well, and how ill any take it to be ſlighted or diſreſpected; and therefore he was obliging to all, diſobliging to none, ſo far as it was poſſible. And yet this his wiſdom was ſo temper'd with uprightneſs and ſincerity, that he appeared not in the leaſt to be crafty or deſigning. He was greatly eſteemed for his integrity, and therefore intruſted by divers great perſons in the management of their affairs and concernments; made their Executor or Truſtee for the governing of their eſtates, preſerving them to their children, or otherwiſe to ſuch purpoſes, as they had appointed by their wills.

As he was eminent in theſe and the like homilitical virtues, ſo he was very much eſteemed for them by perſons of all ranks, eſpecially by thoſe of higher rank and quality. He had a mighty reſpect paid him in *London*, and his company and converſation were very much deſired and valued.

In reference to thoſe notorious differences among us upon account of Conformity and Nonconformity, I have intimated before how moderate

moderate he was: *His moderation was known unto all men*; it was his peculiar virtue, as it had been Biſhop WILKINS's alſo. He was naturally diſpos'd to it, as I may ſay, having had, as Biſhop BURNET ſaith, his firſt education among the Puritans, even as it was Biſhop WILKINS's lot alſo, being grandſon to the famous Mr. DOD, and in his minority inſtructed by him. Our Archbiſhop indeed had not any near relation, ſo far as I ever heard, of the function of a clergyman, that was of that perſuaſion; his father being a layman, a Clothier of good repute, living at *Sowerby* near *Hallifax*, and reckoned to be a Puritan, as they were called in the time before the late wars. But as I have partly noted before, his ſon got out of the prejudices of his education, when but a very young man in *Cambridge*, divers years before the reſtoration in 1660, or any proſpect of it, when the temptation, as to hopes of favour and preferment, lay the quite other way; and ſo conſequently he could not be thought to have changed his judgment in that reſpect, upon any ſway or motive of advancing himſelf in temporal concernments; no, but on the contrary, upon weighty reaſons, when he came to be of years and capacity to ſettle his principles in religion, and to make it a matter of choice, not of education only. And when he ſaw cauſe ſo to do, he did not warp too much to the other extream, to become a bigotted zealot for the church and hierarchy, as many have done; but, like a wiſe and good man, made a diſcrimination, kept to what was good in the Puritans, their pious ſtrictneſs, their renunciation of the public vices of ſwearing, drunkenneſs, debauchery, licentiouſneſs of manners, &c.

only relinquiſh'd their miſtakes, their placing too much religion in little diſtinctions and ſingularities, and their odd averſions to the church-government, liturgy, and ceremonies.

And moreover that, which I mainly drive at, he did not ſo eſpouſe the way of Conformity, as to take up ſuch a hatred and abhorrence of the perſons of the Puritans, or of their party, as to cry out againſt them, as a company of hypocrites, factious villains, and a party not to be ſuffered, but rather to be doom'd to rods and axes, to be purſued with the ſevereſt puniſhments, as one did, who came from that party, *viz.* Dr. SAMUEL PARKER in his *Eccleſiaſtical polity*. But our Doctor having known many of them himſelf to have been honeſt and ſincere in the main, and at the bottom, tho' miſled, and held under almoſt invincible prejudices, he had a tender reſpect, and a great compaſſion for them; and therefore thought they were rather to be inſtructed with meekneſs, and reduc'd by gentle and fair methods to a good opinion of this church, and the orders and conſtitutions of it, than to be continually pelted with ſharp reflections from the pulpit, or rigorouſly dealt with by the execution of penal laws. And therefore I remember it was the counſel he gave myſelf in the year 1661, not to be ſharp upon that party in ſermons or other diſcourſes, nor to cry up the liturgy or ceremonies; but to preach true Chriſtianity, and to take heed to govern my own converſation well; " for, *ſaid he*, good " preaching and good living will gain upon " people: if a man join theſe two, they will at " length come to like his religion and his way, " and ſo their averſions will in time wear off."

As to himſelf, as he did moſt eminently practiſe the advice, which he gave me, ſo doubtleſs he was the moſt ſucceſsful man in his endeavours this way, of all others in this whole church and nation; at leaſt beyond any one man, having been an inſtrument of reducing great numbers of Diſſenters, both Preſbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, into the church; and of preſerving other Diſſenters, eſpecially Nonconforming miniſters, whom he could not ſo far work upon as wholly to gain them, yet from being troubleſome to the church, bringing them to ſome temper and moderation. Yea, I think I may ſay moreover with truth, that tho' ſome other worthy and excellent perſons of the *London* clergy have had their ſhare in this commendation, yet he above all the reſt, by GOD's bleſſing, hath been the chief and prime agent to preſerve the greateſt part of that vaſt body of the citizens of *London* from running into extravagances againſt the government of our church, upon divers unhappy emergencies and conjunctures, that have happened in the ſpace of 30 years laſt paſt; his example and excellent preaching, as well as his more private way of treating with particular perſons, having been ſo influential upon them.

Nor hath his moderation been only beneficial to this church, but hath extended likewiſe to the Reformed churches beyond the ſeas. For ſuch hath been the height of ſome of our *Altitudinarian* divines, as that they have not ſtuck to challenge them as being no churches, for want of Epiſcopal government; as particularly that learned perſon, Mr. DODWELL, in his book about *Schiſm*, and his other book, *One Prieſthood, one Altar*. About which I remember, that having

ſome

ſome diſcourſe with our late Archbiſhop above ten years ago, he told me, that Mr. DODWELL brought his book to himſelf to peruſe, before he put it into the preſs, and deſired him to give him his judgment of it: That he freely told him his diſlike of it; and that tho' it was writ with ſuch great accuracy and cloſe dependance of one propoſition upon another, as that it ſeem'd to be little leſs than demonſtration, "ſo that (ſaith "he) I can hardly tell you, where it is, that you "break the chain; yet I am ſure, that it is "broken ſomewhere; for ſuch and ſuch par-"ticulars are ſo palbably falſe, that I wonder "you do not feel the abſurdity of them; they "are ſo groſs, and grate ſo much upon one's "inward ſenſe." And I remember alſo, he ſaid, that Mr. DODWELL was run into one extream as much as Mr. BAXTER (againſt whom Mr. DODWELL's books were wrote) had done into the other; adding moreover, that they were much alike in their tempers and opinions in one reſpect, tho' they were moſt wide and oppoſite one to another in their tenets; namely, that both of them loved to abound in their own ſenſe, and could by no means be brought off their own apprehenſions and thoughts, but would have them to be the rule and ſtandard for all other mens.

Notwithſtanding this his charity towards Diſſenters, he was far from inclining towards any of their peculiar opinions or ways, or ſo much as encouraging them therein: Any one, that reads his ſermons with underſtanding, may eaſily diſcern it. He is ſometimes pretty tart in cenſuring the hypocriſy of ſome of that party; in expoſing their peeviſhneſs and faction. And as to

their peculiar tenets, he ſometimes reprov'd them, and at other times reſcued and clear'd the truth from their miſtakes. So that no ſober or intelligent perſon can think, that he was partial towards them, tho' he had a great zeal to remove their prejudices, and to bring them into the communion of this church.

I know, that ſome of our church formerly have not been able to endure ſcarcely ſo much as the word *moderation* in reference to the conſtitutions of it: particularly, as to the ceremonies, have condemned both name and thing, and have look'd upon all perſons, that have gone that way, with an evil and jealous eye, as the betrayers of the church, as thoſe, that deſtroy its power: "for, *ſay they*, the church's power "lies in the appointing of rites and ceremonies "for decency, order, and ſolemnity in divine "worſhip, ſo as none of the ſaid ceremonies be "evidently contrary to ſcripture, or in themſelves ſuperſtitious, or tend to any immorality; and therefore take away its authority "in ſuch appointments, and you deſtroy the "church's power, and undermine its government." Such perſons have cenſured this great man upon this account, as no friend to this church, becauſe he declar'd himſelf freely as willing to relax in ſome things, rather than break the peace both of church and ſtate by a too ſtiff adherence to them, and impoſition of them. And I remember, that ſoon after he had preach'd and printed a ſermon on *John* xiii. 34, 35. to his countrymen, the natives of *Yorkſhire*, at their feaſt, in the year 1678, in which endeavouring to perſuade the Diſſenters to come into the union of this church upon this account, becauſe of the great

great diviſion, that their ſtanding-off cauſed in the bowels of it, at that time, when the Papiſts made ſuch great uſe of our diſſentions towards the furthering of their deſign to deſtroy the church, root and branch, he ſaid to this purpoſe: "I am perſuaded, that the governors of our "church are perſons of ſuch great piety and "prudence, as that they could be content to "yield up ſome things to the prejudices and "weakneſs, yea, even ſome little things, to the "importunities of thoſe, that are otherwiſe "minded, for peace-ſake, if that would do the "buſineſs, *&c.*" I ſay, I remember that upon this paſſage, a Doctor, that I was in company with, expreſſed himſelf very much diſſatisfied with it; ſaying, what had he to do, being but a private Doctor, to undertake this without the conſent of his ſuperiors? And ſince that time, in the Convocation, ſince their Majeſties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY's acceſſion to the crown, the ſame accuſation has been renewed againſt him, that he was the head of that party, which was for altering the liturgy in compliance with the Nonconformiſts, to make way for their coming into our communion. And ſo they look'd upon his moderation aforeſaid, rather as his vice, than his virtue: for they think the very eſtabliſhment of the church upon the reformation was moderate enough, and needs to make no further abatement, unleſs it were oblig'd to moderate again and again, and ſo till the whole conſtitution be deſtroyed; for to be ſure it can never be moderated ſo, but ſome peeviſh ſpirits will clamour for further mitigations, till they have brought all to confuſion. Hence this great man was look'd upon rather as an enemy to the

church, than fit to be made a pillar of it. For ſo I remember I have heard ſome ſay, when it was firſt diſcours'd, that he was to be made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *actum eſt de Eccleſiâ* Anglicanâ.

But notwithſtanding theſe formidable ſuggeſtions againſt him and his known moderation; yet, as on the one ſide, 'tis not probable, that he had any ſecret deſign againſt this church, or that his temper and moderation had any direct tendency towards its deſtruction, or was of ill influence that way; ſo on the other ſide, moderation in churchmen and church-governors muſt be allowed to be a great virtue, as well as in other Chriſtians. This might be ſhewed from the example of our Saviour, the Ἀρχιποίμην and Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος of it. His government is compared to the meek and gentle conduct of a ſhepherd, which imports great moderation: His kingdom is typified in the peaceable kingdom of SOLOMON, which was predicted and decypher'd *Pſal.* lxxii. He came to eaſe the church of thoſe heavy burdens, which MOSES had laid upon it; to remove the ceremonial law, and moderate the rigour even of the moral law itſelf, and turn it into the royal law of liberty. He propoſed himſelf as a pattern of great gentleneſs and condeſcenſion to eccleſiaſtical governors, *Matt.* xx. 25, 26, *&c.* Now, what was this, but practiſing and teaching moderation, and recommending it to all his miniſters and ambaſſadors? And this pattern of his was followed by his apoſtles, every one of them ſingly; and even when they were met in council, their decrees ſavour'd wholly of moderation, and tended to preſerve peace and unity in the church. "It ſeem'd

" good unto us (ſay they) being aſſembled to-
" gether with one accord: It ſeem'd good to
" the Holy Ghoſt and to us, to lay upon you
" no greater burden than theſe neceſſary things,
" *&c.*" *Acts* xv. 25. which were but few, and neceſſary for the peace of the church at that time: So that if we conſider theſe great and undoubted patterns, it appears, that moderation, gentleneſs, indulgence, and great condeſcenſion, are very conſiderable virtues in church-men.

Eſpecially if we add the pattern of St. PAUL, next to that of our Saviour, the greateſt; who propoſes his own example to that purpoſe; *even as I* (ſays he) *pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved*, 1 *Cor.* x. 33. and again at large, 1 *Cor.* ix. 19, 20, 21, 22. And eſpecially it is obſervable, how he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to a compliance with the advice of St. JAMES Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, Acts xxi. to purify himſelf after the *Jewiſh* manner; and how great a zeal he had for his country-men the *Jews*, of whom he bare record, that they had a zeal of GOD, though not according to knowledge. How deſirous he was to have brought them within the church and to the faith of Chriſt; and therefore had a mighty tenderneſs for them. And can it be a fault in our Archbiſhop, if having been bred amongſt Puritans, as his adverſaries object, and make his crime; if he, I ſay, had ſuch a great concern for thoſe of that way, as having known doubtleſs many of them, that he believed were honeſtly and uprightly minded at the bottom, tho' carried away by a miſtaken zeal? What if he had ſtrained a little with the furtheſt towards gaining them into the

church? ſhould any condemn him for this? Would they not after that rate cenſure even St. PAUL himſelf?

I could eaſily add many things more in defence of this great man's moderation; but I will add no more than this, that I believe his ſucceſſor, the now moſt worthy Archbiſhop, will be found to walk in much the ſame way, and to tread in the ſame ſteps, as well as other excellent Biſhops and worthy Preſbyters of this church, who yet intend not the leaſt to ſubvert it, or to weaken eccleſiaſtical authority.

I have done with his character; and ſhall only add ſomething further concerning his preaching, and then conclude with application to myſelf, which was my principal end in writing theſe memoirs.

He was deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt, if not rather abſolutely the very beſt Preacher of this age; eſpecially conſidering how frequent and conſtant his imployment was that way; his ſermons being full of good ſenſe, judicious, ſolid, cloſe, and very intelligible; his language, maſculine, but not bombaſt; his notions for the moſt part very clear, lying even to the underſtandings of attentive hearers. Thoſe, that were duly qualified, heard him with delight; for they thought they knew the things before; and yet they were not obvious to common invention. Some have called him a rational Preacher, as indeed he was in the beſt ſenſe: He underſtood human nature, and natural divinity, and true morality very well; and therefore there was ſomething in the hearts and conſciences of men not debauch'd, that mov'd them to give aſſent and conſent to what he ſpoke, as being agreeable,

and con-natural, as I may ſay, to the common reaſon and faculties of mankind, to that νόμος ἔγγραπτος, that law of God written and engraven upon man's heart: And there is no teaching like that of inabling them to teach themſelves. His compoſures were no jargon, or cant; did not conſiſt of phraſes or forms of words ſuited to any ſect or party of men, or that had little real matter in them. It was one thing, that he diſliked in the Nonconformiſts, that they uſed divers diſtinctive phraſes and expreſſions, that ſeemed to have ſome ſublime meaning; when, if ſearch'd to the bottom, they were ſcarce ſenſe, or however might be better expreſſed in more plain and intelligible words: As when they taught men to *rely upon Chriſt*, and *act faith*, and the like; the plain ſenſe of which is, to truſt in him, and believe in him.

He was a practical preacher. His diſcourſes generally aim'd, either to excite in men an awful ſenſe of God, and to enkindle devotion towards him, or to ſtir up to a holy, religious, and virtuous converſation: Which certainly is the great end of chriſtian religion, above all other religions, that are, or ever were in the world. He ſeldom preach'd controverſies; except thoſe between us and the church of *Rome*; which indeed he did purpoſely, when he ſaw there was an abſolute neceſſity for it by reaſon of the danger of Popery getting the upper-hand and prevailing, either by fraud, or by being forcibly thruſt upon the nation. And when he did treat on theſe points, he did it to purpoſe, giving the *Romiſh* tenets each of them a killing blow before he left them. And as for practical ſubjects, I believe there were few remarkable texts of Scripture,

ture, either of the Old or New Teſtament, or however few heads of practical divinity, but he handled them at one time or other in the courſe of his preaching. And for this reaſon, ſome would call him a moral preacher, as a diminution to him, as if he preach'd moral virtue rather than grace: But this is but a calumny upon him. He did not indeed treat upon the inexplicable and ineffable operations of grace, as ſome have taken upon them to do, but with what good effect I cannot tell. They might have good intentions, I do not deny; but the effect has been to teach men to diſpute, rather than to live; if not worſe, namely, to poſſeſs mens minds with a kind of ſemi-enthuſiaſm, and putting them upon enquiry after marks of election in themſelves, which when they think they have diſcovered, they have grown ſomething too proud and conceited of themſelves, and deſpiſed others, that they thought had them not, and have too much neglected the duties of a good life, eſpecially of love, and charity, and juſtice; it being obſervable, that ſuch have been generally *Antinomians*, thinking themſelves freed from the ſtrict obligation to moral duties. As for this our great preacher, I dare ſay, that he magnified divine grace, and taught men to pray and labour for, and make uſe of thoſe aſſiſtances thereof, which GOD offers to them, and will beſtow upon thoſe, that heartily and ſincerely do ſo.

But then alſo he knew, that Chriſtians are under indiſpenſable obligations to lead good lives in all reſpects, both towards GOD, men, and themſelves. To which purpoſe I remember a notion he told me now above 30 years ago, *viz.* that

that Chriſtianity, as to the practical part of it, was nothing elſe but the religion of nature, or pure morality, ſave only praying and making all our addreſſes to GOD in the name, and through the mediation of our Saviour, and the uſe of the two ſacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; " and, *ſaid he*, want of underſtanding " and practiſing according to this principle hath " broken the peace of *Chriſtendom*, and it can " never be reſtored, till this principle and notion " obtain again." And if this notion be true, as I believe any capable and conſidering perſon, that weighs the precepts of the Goſpel, will think it is, the *Antinomians* muſt both unchriſtian and unman themſelves, while they look upon themſelves as diſoblig'd from ſtrict morality. So that one may ſee, how ill requited he was by the Nonconformiſts for all his kindneſs and moderation towards them, while they affix'd ſuch oblique reflections upon him.

But how generally and univerſally his preaching was eſteem'd, appear'd by thoſe crouds of auditors, that attended it, and eſpecially of the Clergy at his Lectures at *St. Laurence*; and many, that heard him on *Sunday* at *Lincoln's-Inn*, went joyfully to *St. Laurence* on *Tueſday*, hoping they might hear the ſame ſermon again. The audience generally ſtood, or ſat, with the greateſt attention, and even waited upon his diſcourſes, hanging upon his lips. One ſhould hardly ſee a wandering eye among them; and when his ſermons were ended, they went away with ſatisfied minds, and glad hearts, and chearful countenances.

In his expoſitions of ſcripture, he principally followed GROTIUS, of whom I have heard him ſay,

ſay, that his *annotations*, upon the *four Evangeliſts* eſpecially, were worth their weight in gold. He had a great dexterity in expounding ſcripture by ſcripture; for, like APOLLOS, he was a *man mighty in the ſcriptures*. The Bible was his treaſury, from whence he fetch'd not only the matter and ſtrength of his ſermons, but even his rhetoric and way of convincing and perſuading, as accounting the word of GOD quick and powerful, ſharper than a two-edged ſword, piercing into the ſouls, ſearching into the hearts, and criticiſing upon the conſciences and moſt inward thoughts of men: And yet he was none of thoſe, that criticis'd upon the words and phraſes of ſcripture, or ſtudied to force any far-fetch'd interpretations upon them. His paraphraſes or ſenſing any paſſages were always very genuine, and tending to render them intelligible.

The method of his ſermons was generally apt and eaſy, very well fitted both to the underſtandings and memories of intelligent hearers; and in handling the ſeveral heads, his endeavour was to make all things clear, to bring truth into open light; and his arguments of perſuaſion were ſtrong and nervous, and tended to gain the affections by the underſtanding: and thoſe, that heard him with attention, muſt either be perſuaded to become good, or elſe they muſt do violence to their beſt faculties, and notoriouſly act contrary to their own reaſon. So that if, under GOD, his word did not ſave them, yet it would be ſure to judge them, and leave them without excuſe. Thus, as St. PAUL, he did in his preaching *commend himſelf to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God.*

Such

Such a wiſe, ſuch an able workman did this great Preacher approve himſelf to be, and one, that *needed not to be aſhamed.* And I am perſuaded, that by God's great bleſſing upon his labours, he was an inſtrument of doing as much good in his ſtation and generation, as any one of his contemporaries in the ſacred function whoſoever. He made no oſtentation of his learning, though 'tis well known it was very conſiderable: He did not preach Christ or his Goſpel out of envy: He did not expoſe other men or parties: He ſought not glory of men; but devoted himſelf intirely to glorify and ſerve God with his ſpirit, in the Goſpel of his Son. His great deſign was to make men wiſely religious, and every way virtuous and good; to have their converſations honeſt, and to keep good conſciences void of offence, both towards God and towards men. As indeed one of his main arguments to perſuade men to be good, was the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and the inward peace, that ariſes from it.

Thus I have endeavoured to offer at giving a character of his temper and life, and alſo of his way and manner of preaching; which yet I know how very ſhort and defective it is. I myſelf could have added a great deal more, very much from my own knowledge and obſervation, though, as I ſaid before, I have ſo very ſeldom ſeen or converſed with him ſince I was under his tuition, that I am not one of the moſt competent for the taſk. But I hope the public will have a full account of him from ſome worthy hand, that knew him intimately, and convers'd long with him, and that hath been capable of making cloſer obſervations, and can better decypher

cypher him than I. And if ſuch a thing be done, I am perſuaded it would be a very worthy work; would do right to his memory, and propoſe an excellent pattern to all of his function in this and future ages.

I do not believe this great man to have been abſolutely perfect, or wholly devoid of all faults and blemiſhes; nor certainly did he ever think ſo of himſelf; for he had this virtue to embelliſh and grace all his other virtues and perfections, namely, to be very humble in his whole deportment: He had nothing of pride or faſtuouſneſs, no not ſo much as in his ſpirit, ſo far as ever appeared to me in my ſtricteſt obſervation of him. He did not boaſt or magnify himſelf, or lift up himſelf above his brethren. He was very contrite before GOD; a mourner in ſecret for his own and others ſins. He was meek and lowly of heart. I will but ſay only this one thing more; that upon a very ſerious review upon all, that I have known by myſelf, or heard from others, that were worthy, ingenuous, and credible perſons, concerning either his temper, or converſation, or management of affairs, or any way in reference to his function, I never ſaw or heard from ſuch perſons as before, of any falſe ſtep he made; any thing, that argued him inſincere; any thing, that was ſcandalous, or of ill report; but on the contrary, very laudable and imitable. What ſecret defects he might have, was known to GOD and himſelf: and I believe he could ſay with St. PAUL, *I know nothing by myſelf* (nothing inconſiſtent with that uprightneſs, that is attainable by man in this life) *yet am I not hereby juſtified.*

I have heard indeed, that this great man hath been libelled and rallied, and, I think, I once ſaw at *London* ſome ten years ago or upward, ſome ſorry inſinuations againſt Him in print to that purpoſe; moſt of which were falſe in my own knowledge. But this I will ſay concerning this matter, that certainly they, who either publicly defam'd him, or more ſecretly ſlandered him, and ſpoke evil of him, or detracted from his worth, either they never knew him, but only gratify'd their own and others ſpite and malice againſt him; or if they did know him, they only betray'd a more deviliſh nature, and proſecuted him with hatred, becauſe he was ſo good. But, as the reverend Dean of *St. Paul's* tells, that he having bundled up all the libels againſt him, and writ upon the outſide, "I pray GOD forgive "the authors of them; I do;" ſo I wiſh the ſame, and grant them repentance, that they may be forgiven.

I ſhould have given ſome deſcription of the very form and lineaments of his body; the habitation, where his ſweet and good mind dwelt for near 65 years. His countenance was fair and very amiable; his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aſpect quick and ingenuous; all which were the index of his excellent ſoul and ſpirit. His hair brown and buſhy: he was moderately tall; very ſlender and ſparing in his youth; his conſtitution but tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent and fat, when grown in age, which increaſed more and more as long as he lived; but yet was neither a burden to himſelf, nor in the leaſt unſeemly to others. The vigour of his mind, and perſpicacity of his underſtanding, continued to his laſt

laſt ſeizure, and his knowledge and remembrance to his death, as I have been told: Which ſaid ſeizure indeed was very ſudden, and ſoon proceeded to make an end of his life; tho' I believe it was no ſurprize to himſelf, being habitually prepared for death; a life, which had been ſo beneficial to the church, and to this nation. And had GOD been pleaſed to have prolonged it, as alſo that of our late gracious Queen, who ſoon followed after him, as ſhe had much reverenced and valued him, we might have expected to have ſeen and experienced greater public benefits by their conjunction and further concurrence for the eſtabliſhing of the church, and reformation of the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, and of procuring a greater union and charity among us. However their endeavours would not have been wanting, which, conſidering their high wiſdom and gracious good tempers, join'd with their authority, one might have been almoſt aſſur'd would have prov'd ſucceſsful. But GOD's will is done, and we muſt all acquieſce in it without murmuring or gainſaying, though we cannot but cloſely reflect upon and lament our great ſins, that rendered the nation unworthy of the longer enjoyment of ſuch invaluble bleſſings. Only we have reaſon to hope the mercies of GOD are not come utterly to an end towards us, in that he hath by his gracious Providence, and the great wiſdom of our King and the late excellent Queen, raiſed up ſuch a worthy perſon to ſucceed him in the Primacy; one indeed fit to follow him, as having much of the ſame temper and ſpirit in him; and I am perſuaded, will not pull down what his predeceſſor had in his heart to have builded

up.

up. And ſo likewiſe praiſed be GOD, who hath ſupported and comforted the heart of our gracious King, under that almoſt inſupportable ſtroke of loſing his Conſort, the joint partner of his Throne, and moſt weighty burthen of government. And may the hand of the Almighty hold him faſt, and his arm ſtrengthen him, and make him as a poliſhed ſhaft in his quiver, and grant that his heart may not fail nor be diſcouraged, until, under GOD, he ſhall have planted righteouſneſs and peace in the earth, in theſe and other nations of *Europe*, now confederate with him.

And now I conclude theſe memoirs of this great and moſt worthy perſon, with a ſhort application to myſelf. He was always an example to me in his life, though my weakneſs, and low underſtanding, and abilities, did not make me capable of coming near ſuch a pattern in any tolerable meaſure or degree. The eſteem, the honour, the reverence, and love I had for him, made me conſtantly to remember him, to pray for him, and praiſe GOD, that he was pleaſed to diſpoſe me under ſuch a worthy tutor; and it hath been matter of ſorrow and regret to me, that I too little valued ſuch a bleſſing whilſt I enjoy'd it; that I did not make the proficiency, which I might have done under his tuition, whilſt I had his example before my eyes, and might have learnt more by him and from him. But this is but too common a fault, that we do not prize nor improve ſuch bleſſings, as we ought, whilſt they are preſent with us. But for many years I may truly ſay, that I have moſt affectionately lov'd him, and have thought many times, that I could hardly live, if he were dead;

though as to temporal matters, ſaving his good word, or the like, I never received any favour from him. I confeſs I have ſometimes requeſted him to remember my ſon, which he was pleas'd to ſay he would in due time, tho' it ſeems he lived not to have opportunity to do it. But I paſs that, and do not at all think it any unkind neglect of him or myſelf; nor doth his omiſſion in this reſpect in any degree leſſen my eſteem of his memory. But I ſay truly that, which hath been my inward ſenſe, that I after a ſort lived in him: He was, under GOD, in my own thoughts, my crown and my joy, my guard, my ſweet ornament; as indeed I cannot think I am ſo wiſe, or ſo well fortified, now he is gone.

But ſince he is gone, and, I doubt not, to be exceeding happy with GOD and CHRIST; and being that he hath left ſuch a precious memory and example to ſurvive him now he is dead, I ought much more to remember him, and propoſe the pattern of his temper and life to my own imitation, as that, which next to that of my Saviour and his bleſſed Apoſtles, I hope will moſt ſenſibly affect me. Let me labour to imitate his great wiſdom, his blameleſs and unſpotted life; his humility, his meekneſs, his ſweetneſs of temper, his obligingneſs, and readineſs to do good; his excellent preaching, ſo far as I am able; his conſtancy to good principles; his moderation and candour; his looſeneſs from the love of the world, and earthly riches; his unwearied diligence in preaching, and that from ſuch principles, by ſuch rules, and to ſuch ends, as he did.

To conclude, though I have but a ſhort time to live, yet GOD grant me for the ſhort remainder

mainder of my life, that he of his mercy and patience ſhall afford me, hereafter to make ſome improvement of theſe memorials, which I have now ſet down concerning him; that ſo I may attain to be one, tho' the very meaneſt, of that numerous and bleſſed company, where his ſpirit now is, through the merits of my deareſt Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

APPENDIX.

NUMBER II.

Notes upon, and Additions to, the Life of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON.

PAGE 10. on the words [Mr. DENTON of *Clare-Hall.*] JOHN DENTON was admitted ſizar and pupil to Mr. DAVID CLARKSON on the 4th of *May* 1646, as appears from the regiſter of the college. He was ejected by the act of uniformity in 1662 from the Living of *Oſwaldkirk* near *Helmſley* in *Yorkſhire*, where Archbiſhop TILLOTSON preach'd his firſt ſermon, and not from that of *Bolton*, as Dr. CALAMY affirms in his *account*, *p.* 818. who has rectified his miſtake in his 4th volume, *p.* 950. though, as it ſeems, without knowing that it was a miſtake, it being indeed Mr. NATHAN, and not Mr. JOHN DENTON, who was ejected from *Bolton* upon *Dearn*, or more properly *Darwent*. Mr. JOHN DENTON afterwards conform'd, and being re-ordained by Dr. THOMAS BARLOW, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was

collated to the Living of *Stonegrave* within two miles of *Oſwaldkirk*, and a Prebend of the church of *York*, both which he held till his death on the 14th of *January* 1708, in the 83d year of his age, as is evident from the inſcription on his tomb-ſtone in the church of *Stonegrave*, in which he was ſucceeded by his ſon Mr. ROBERT DENTON, who was educated at *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and died about four years ago. Mr. JOHN DENTON having contracted a moſt intimate friendſhip with Mr. TILLOTSON at *Clare-Hall*, where he was particularly ſerviceable to him during a great and dangerous ſickneſs, attended for ſome time after with a very uncommon kind of intermittent delirium, they kept up a conſtant correſpondence during his Grace's life.

Page 94. on the words [procuring the Bible, *&c.* to be printed in the *Welch* language, *&c.*] A paſſage in the Dean's ſermon relating to the ſtate of *Wales* at that time having been excepted to, the reader will find a full vindication of it in the following letter of a very learned and worthy clergyman.

" SIR,

" IN the hiſtory of *Wales*, publiſhed by Mr. " WILLIAM WYNNE Fellow of *Jeſus-College* " *Oxford* in 1697, *p.* 328. there is a paſſage, " which, as it is not a little injurious to the me- " mory of that excellent Prelate, whoſe life you " are writing, may deſerve a remark or two, and " is as follows:

[" And

['And here, by the bye, I cannot but obſerve 'what a reverend writer has lately inſinuated, 'relating to the Chriſtian religion planted in '*Wales*. For that learned perſon, in his funeral-'ſermon upon Mr. GOUGE, would fain induce 'the world to believe, that Chriſtianity was very 'corrupt and imperfect among the *Welch*, be-'fore it was purified by that, whom he terms '*apoſtolical man*. Whereas it is notoriouſly evi-'dent, that ſince the reformation was ſettled in 'that country, and the Bible, with the book 'of Common-prayer, tranſlated into the *Welch* 'tongue, no place has been more exact, in 'keeping to the ſtrict rubric and conſtitution of 'the church of *England*, both as to the ſubſtance 'and form of worſhip.']

"I apprehend this matter may be placed in a "juſt light, by the following ſhort account, "which I draw from good authority. Mr. "GOUGE, being authorized by the Biſhops of "our church, and having great encouragement "from the nobility and gentry of *Wales*, as well "as from many perſons of diſtinction in *England*, "went into a country, where, at that time, "there was great need of preaching, and where "he found his own endeavours in that way to "be both acceptable and uſeful to many of the "poor inhabitants, eſpecially in thoſe parts, "where this method of inſtruction had for a "long courſe of years been conſiderably neg-"lected. *But where there was no ſuch need* (as "in ſeveral places, it is preſumed, there was "not) *he was very well contented*, as the Preacher "at his funeral obſerves, *to hear others perſuade*

" *men to goodneſs, and to practiſe it himſelf.* Now
" this being the caſe, I cannot but be ſorry to
" ſee it miſrepreſented in the paſſage I have
" cited; where the author not only ſhews leſs
" reſpect, than was due to the memory of the
" deceaſed Archbiſhop, but gives his words a
" turn, of which they do not ſeem to be fairly
" capable; as may eaſily be diſcerned on com-
" paring what this gentleman ſays, with what is
" ſaid in the ſermon, to which he refers: Wherein
" I cannot find any intimation, ſuch as this writer
" had taught me to expect, that Chriſtianity was
" *very corrupt and imperfect* in *Wales*, before the
" *apoſtolical* Mr. GOUGE went thither to *purify*
" it. The true reaſon of his going thither
" (beſides his beſtowing *much alms among the*
" *people*) has been given above, and is more
" largely diſplayed in the ſermon itſelf; to
" which, as far as I can ſee, no juſt exception
" can be made in this reſpect, by any critic,
" who is inclined to be candid. And the ac-
" count given of the unhappy ſtate of religion
" in *Wales*, by the late Dr. SAUNDERS (a very
" knowing and worthy native of that princi-
" pality) fully juſtifies the ſermon, and Mr.
" GOUGE's errand. But even ſuppoſing (what
" need not, I think, be ſuppoſed, or at leaſt
" cannot be honourably inferred from any thing,
" which Dr. TILLOTSON hath ſaid) that Chriſti-
" anity was indeed *corrupt* in ſome inſtances, and
" *imperfect* in others, within that principality,
" before the charitable Mr. GOUGE made his
" journeys thither; I do not ſee, that the hiſto-
" rian has either diſproved the ſuppoſed fact,
" or given any ſatisfactory anſwer to the point,
" by obſerving, that the inhabitants were very

" exact in their adherence to the rubrics and " other conſtitutions of our church. The purity " and perfection of Chriſtianity doth not alto- " gether conſiſt in theſe; and both may be " carried farther by preaching, by catechizing, " by diſperſing good books, and ſuch other " pious methods, as were uſed by Mr. GOUGE, " when he travelled into thoſe parts. So that " upon the whole, I am apt to think his cha- " ritable labours deſerved more a grateful ac- " knowledgment, and the ſermon at his funeral " a leſs invidious treatment, than they have met " with from this author: Of whom I ſhall " only ſay further, that I cannot but wiſh, he " had either forborne his cenſure upon two ſuch " excellent men (ſince it was at leaſt needleſs, " which is the ſofteſt thing I can ſay) or had de- " livered it in terms leſs derogatory to characters " ſo juſtly eſteemed, and more expreſſive of that " good-nature, which I am inclined to expect, " and always glad to find, in an *ancient Briton*."

Page 360. before the paragraph beginning [The difference.] The reaſonableneſs of his doctrines, and that goodneſs and generoſity of heart, which ſhone thro' all his writings as well as every part of his conduct, have drawn a reſpect towards his memory from thoſe, who were the leaſt affected to religion in general, or Chriſtianity in particular. Mr. COLLINS has introduced him with great reſpect into the moſt exceptionable of his own works[a], declaring, that *all* Engliſh *free-thinkers will own him as their head*, and that *even the enemies of free-thinking will allow him to be a proper inſtance of the purpoſe*

[a] Diſcourſe of free-thinking, *p.* 171. *Edit.* 1713.

of his *diſcourſe* upon it: That his Grace's *learning and good ſenſe are diſputed by none:* And that his *ſermons* "tend to the promoting of true religion "and virtue (in the practice whereof the peace "and happineſs of ſociety conſiſt) and free-"thinking, and greatly exceed the idea, which "he uſed to give of the goodneſs of a ſermon "by frequently repeating the words of a witty "man, that *it was a good ſermon, which had no* "*hurt in it.* In ſhort, that his works are formed "for the improvement of underſtanding and "morality." But this eloge from ſo ſuſpected a writer gave occaſion to one of the ableſt of his anſwerers [b], among other *queries* propos'd to the authors (for he ſuppoſes more than one) of the *Diſcourſe of free-thinking*, to aſk, whether they could ever make reparation for the injury done to the memory of the great and good Archbiſhop, by putting him into the ſame liſt with EPICURUS and Mr. HOBBES, againſt both whom he has expreſs'd himſelf with ſo particular a ſeverity in ſome parts of his works, and by thus doing the work of his worſt and bittereſt enemies? Whether his Grace's example had not better been imitated, than his memory thus blackened, and the abuſes of religion charged only upon the abuſers, and not upon religion itſelf? Whether his zeal againſt Atheiſm and infidelity might not have been mentioned, as well as his zeal againſt ſpiritual tyranny and antichriſtian cruelty? Whether the injury done by theſe authors to his great name was not already apparent,

[b] Queries recommended to the authors of the late *Diſcourſe of free-thinking*. By a Chriſtian, *p.* 22, 23. *Edit.* London 1713. This excellent piece, publiſh'd at firſt without the author's name, is ſince known to be the performance of the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

rent, when a conſcientious author had already taken an handle from them to miſrepreſent him in the groſſeſt manner, contrary to the whole tenor of that ſermon, in which he ſpeaks of the miſchiefs of Popiſh zeal, and contrary to his expreſs declarations concerning the Chriſtian religion, which he in the ſame ſermon vindicates from the leaſt ſhadow of guilt upon that account? The writer of the *queries* concludes with remarking, that as it was to the purpoſe of the authors of the *Diſcourſe of free-thinking*, to rank this good man in ſuch company; ſo it was to the purpoſe of his Popiſh and other furious enemies, that he, who could not enter into their blind and unchriſtian meaſures, ſhould paſs for an Atheiſt and an Infidel: So mutually do Atheiſm and Popery aſſiſt each other!

Page 393. before the 3d paragraph, beginning [His Grace was, *&c.*] His long acquaintance with, and high regard for the character and writings of that great maſter of botany and natural hiſtory in general, Mr. JOHN RAY, would have been of advantage to the fortune of the latter, which was very ſlender, after his Grace's advancement to the Archbiſhopric, if that modeſt and pious man would have accepted of preferment in the church at a time of life, when he thought himſelf incapable of diſcharging the duties of it. Nor did he omit the firſt opportunity of returning the Archbiſhop a public mark of his gratitude and eſteem, in a very polite dedication to his Grace of his *Three phyſico-theological diſcourſes, concerning the chaos, the deluge, and the diſſolution of the world.*

A P-

APPENDIX.

NUMBER III.

Miſcellaneous remarks on the ſermons of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON. *By* JOHN JORTIN, *M. A. and Rector of* St. Dunſtan's *in the Eaſt.*

VOL. I. SERMON XXXV. Edit. fol.

THIS ſermon hath been attacked by CAVILLERS at home and abroad, and defended by LE CLERC in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie.*

VOL. I. SERMON XXXVI.

"The poet feigns of ACHILLES, that by "ſome charm or gift of the gods he was in- "vulnerable, except in the heel, *&c.* The wiſe "poet inſtructing us, *&c.*"

This is a ſmall ſlip in our excellent author; for the poet κατ' ἐξοχήν is HOMER, who hath ſaid nothing concerning this fable of ACHILLES.

VOL. I. SERMON XLIII, *&c.*

TILLOTSON printed theſe ſermons *on the divinity of Chriſt*, to vindicate himſelf from the charge of Socinianiſm, that is, from an accuſation entirely groundleſs. I have been told, that CRELLIUS, a Socinian, and a deſcendent from the more celebrated CRELLIUS, who uſed, when he came over hither, to viſit the Archbiſhop, and to converſe with him, juſtified him on this head,

head, and declared, that TILLOTSON had often diſputed with him in a friendly way upon the ſubject of the Trinity, and that he was the beſt reaſoner, and had the moſt to ſay for himſelf, of any adverſary he had ever encountered.

But then TILLOTSON hath made ſome conceſſions concerning the Socinians, which never were, and never will be forgiven him, and hath broken an ancient and fundamental rule of theological controverſy, *allow not an adverſary to have either common ſenſe or common honeſty.*

Here is the obnoxious paſſage:

" And yet to do right to the writers on that " ſide, I muſt own, that generally they are a " pattern of the fair way of diſputing, and of " debating matters of religion, without heat and " unſeemly reflections upon their adverſaries.— " They generally argue matters with that temper " and gravity, and with that freedom from paſ- " ſion and tranſport, which becomes a ſerious " and weighty argument: and for the moſt part " they reaſon cloſely and clearly, with extraor- " dinary guard and caution, with great dexte- " rity and decency, and yet with ſmartneſs and " ſubtilty enough; with a very gentle heat, and " few hard words: virtues to be praiſed, where- " ever they are found, yea even in an enemy, " and very worthy our imitation. In a word, " they are the ſtrongeſt managers of a weak " cauſe, and which is ill-founded at the bottom, " that perhaps ever yet meddled with contro- " verſy; inſomuch that ſome of the Proteſtants, " and the generality of the Popiſh writers, and " even of the Jeſuits themſelves, who pretend " to all the reaſon and ſubtilty in the world, are " in compariſon of them but mere ſcolds and

" bunglers.

" bunglers. Upon the whole matter, they have
" but this one great defect, that they want a
" good cauſe and truth on their ſide; which if
" they had, they have reaſon, and wit, and
" temper enough to defend it."

The thought, which is contained in the laſt ſentence, reſembles that of QUINTILIAN, who ſays of SENECA: *Multa probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda ſunt: eligere modo curæ ſit, quod utinam ipſe feciſſet! digna enim fuit illa natura, quæ meliora vellet, quæ quod voluit effecit.* And again, *Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe, alieno judicio.*

Now, by way of contraſt, behold the character of the ſame perſons, from the maſterly and impartial hand of SOUTH:

" The Socinians are impious blaſphemers,
" whoſe infamous pedigree runs back [*from
" wretch to wretch*] in a direct line to the devil
" himſelf; and who are fitter to be cruſhed by
" the civil magiſtrate, as deſtructive to govern-
" ment and ſociety, than to be confuted as
" merely heretics in religion."

Such is the true *agoniſtic ſtyle*, or *intolerant ſpirit*; ſuch the *courage* of a champion, who challenges his adverſary, and then calls upon the *conſtable* to come and help him.

———*An tibi Mavors*
Ventoſa in lingua, pedibuſque fugacibus iſtis
Semper erit?

VOL. II. SERMON XVI.

" JOSEPHUS flattered VESPASIAN ſo far, as to
" make him believe, that he was the man [the
" Meſſias]; and thereupon *perſuaded* him to
" *deſtroy* the line of DAVID, out of which the
tradition

" tradition was, that the Meſſias ſhould ſpring, " *&c.*"

JOSEPHUS did not give this wicked advice. Our Prelate perhaps had in his thoughts what EUSEBIUS relates of DOMITIAN, that he ordered all the family of DAVID to be deſtroyed, and that ſome of our LORD's kinſmen were ſeized, and brought before him, and upon examination diſmiſs'd, as poor and inconſiderable perſons. Afterwards, in the time of TRAJAN, ſome heretics laid an information againſt SYMEON the ſon of CLEOPAS, as being of the family of DAVID, and alſo a Chriſtian; and for this SYMEON was put to death, when he was a hundred and twenty years old. But theſe very accuſers of the martyr were alſo convicted of belonging to the royal tribe, diligent ſearch being made at that time for ſuch perſons.

EUSEBIUS had theſe accounts from HEGESIPPUS, and HEGESIPPUS is far enough from infallibility. So the ſtories reſt upon his authority, ſuch as it is. EUSEB. E. H. III. 19, 20, 32.

VOL. II. SERMON LXX.

" We muſt be ſerious in our inſtructions—to " which nothing can be more contrary than to " trifle with the word of GOD, and to ſpeak of " the weightieſt matters in the world, the great " and everlaſting concernments of the ſouls of " men, in ſo ſlight and indecent a manner, as is " not only beneath the gravity of the pulpit, " but even of a well-regulated ſtage. Can any " thing be more unſuitable, than to hear a mi- " niſter of GOD from this ſolemn place to break " jeſts upon ſin, and to quibble with the vices " of the age? This is to ſhoot without a bullet,

" as

" as if we had no mind to do execution, but " only to make men ſmile at the mention of " their faults: this is ſo nauſeous a folly, and " of ſo pernicious conſequence to religion, that " hardly any thing too ſevere can be ſaid of it."

This was undoubtedly deſigned as a cenſure upon SOUTH, for ſaying, that *there is no fluxing a ſoul out of its immortality*, and a hundred things of the ſame kind.

VOL. II. SERMON XCIII.

" The being of GOD is ſo comfortable, ſo " convenient, ſo neceſſary to the felicity of man- " kind, that (as TULLY admirably ſays) *Dii* " *immortales ad uſum hominum fabricati pene vi-* " *deantur*; If GOD were not a neceſſary Being " of himſelf, he might almoſt ſeem to be made " on purpoſe for the uſe and benefit of men."

A learned perſon, who ſhall not be named, obſerved, that TILLOTSON, taking the verb *fabricati* in a *paſſive ſenſe*, groſsly miſunderſtood CICERO, whoſe words are theſe: *Sunt autem alij philoſophi, & hi quidem magni atque nobiles, qui Deorum mente atque ratione omnem mundum adminiſtrari atque regi cenſeant: neque verò id ſolum, ſed etiam ab ijſdem vitæ hominum conſuli & provideri: nam & fruges, & reliqua quæ terra pariat, & tempeſtates, ac temporum varietates, cælique mutationes, quibus omnia quæ terra gignat, maturata pubeſcant, a Dîs immortalibus tribui humano generi putant; multaque, quæ dicentur in his libris, colligunt; quæ talia ſunt, ut* ea ipſa *Dî immortales ad uſum hominum fabricati pene videantur.* De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

It is certain, that theſe words, as they ſtand in CICERO, will not admit the ſenſe, which TIL-

LOTSON

LOTSON gives them; but TILLOTSON, in all probability, cited by memory, and without conſulting the context, and put that meaning upon the words, which ſeemed the moſt reaſonable and elegant; and perhaps his good ſenſe led him here to the true interpretation. BOHERIUS, a learned *French* critic, underſtood this paſſage juſt as TILLOTSON had taken it; and to accommodate the ſentence to this purpoſe, he propoſed a ſlight emendation, which is approved by DAVIES. CLARISS. BOHERIUS *legit*,—ut ET IPSI Dij immortales ad uſum hominum fabricati pene videantur. *Audax ſane videtur loquendi ratio; ſed ſenſus facit, ut ei conjecturæ faveam.* DAVIES.

In favour of this conjecture and interpretation, it may be obſerved, that, according to the Pagan theology, the *Dij immortales* are the *ſun*, the *moon*, the *ſtars*, the *planets*, and the *earth*, who furniſh us with the comforts and conveniencies of life; and ſo highly beneficial are they to mortal men, that, although they be *Gods*, yet they *ſeem almoſt* to have been *made* for the uſe of man.

If you aſk, by whom were the Gods made? the Pagan anſwer is, by *nature*, or by the *ſupreme God*, who drew them out of *chaos*, and who is called by OVID, *mundi fabricator*.

Hanc Deus & melior litem Natura diremit.

And then,

Aſtra tenent cæleſte ſolum, formæque Deorum.
OVID Met. I.

Illa Deos omnes, longum enumerare, creavit
Says OVID, Faſt. IV. ſpeaking of VENUS.

CICERO

CICERO advanced ſomewhat that was bold, and therefore qualified it with a *pene videantur*.

VOL. III. SERMON CXL.

" I know not what ſome men may find in " themſelves; but I muſt freely acknowledge, " that I could never yet attain to that bold and " hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing, " for this reaſon, becauſe it was impoſſible.— " So that I am very far from being of *his* mind, " that wanted, not only more difficulties, but " even impoſſibilites in the Chriſtian religion, to " exerciſe his faith upon."

The perſon, whom TILLOTSON had in view, was the author of *Religio Medici*. But by *impoſſibilities*, Sir THOMAS BROWN, as well as TERTULLIAN, meant *ſeeming* not *real impoſſibilities*; and what he ſays ſhould be looked upon as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flouriſh, and a trial of ſkill with TERTULLIAN, in which however he had little chance to come off ſuperior. Both of them were lively and ingenious, but the *African* had a warmer complexion than the *Briton*.

" Methinks there be not impoſſibilities enough " in religion for an active faith.—I can anſwer " all the objections of Satan and my rebellious " reaſon, with that odd reſolution I learned of " TERTULLIAN, *Certum eſt, quia impoſſibile eſt.* " —I am thankful, that I lived not in the days " of miracles, *&c.*" *Rel. Medici.*

TILLOTSON judging, that the Papiſts would make an ill uſe of this, and ſuch paſſages as this, in Proteſtant writers, was willing to paſs a gentle animadverſion upon it.

Sir

Sir KENELM DIGBY, a Roman Catholic, who criticizes ſeveral things in the *Religio Medici*, yet gives his loud approbation to theſe pious ſallies: *I am extremely pleaſed with him, when he ſaith, there are not impoſſibilities enough in religion for an active faith*, &c. Extremely pleaſed, without queſtion, and full of hopes, that this young author might at laſt *unreaſon* himſelf into *implicit belief*, and go over to a church, which would feed his hungry faith with a ſufficient quantity of impoſſibilities.

Tendimus in Latium!

Amongſt many things, which may be mentioned in favour of TILLOTSON, this ſhould not be forgotten, that of thoſe, who have paſſed their judgments upon him, there never was a *ſon of abſurdity*, who did not *diſlike*, or a *ſenſible reader*, who did not *approve* his writings. If a perſon were to offer himſelf a candidate for honeſt reputation, what could he wiſh and hope more, than to ſhare TILLOTSON's fate, and to find the ſame cenſurers and the ſame defenders? Yet it hath been ſaid of this great and good man, that his ſpirits were in ſome degree broken, and his health impaired, by the inſults and calumnies of petulant adverſaries. If it be true, it is a melancholy inſtance of human infirmity, and a proof, that a little *Stoiciſm* and *Socratiſm* is a deſirable poſſeſſion. To forgive enemies, though difficult to many, was eaſy to him, aſſiſted as he was by good-nature and by religion: but to deſpiſe their attacks, was a taſk rather too hard for his gentle temper and ſenſibility; ſo that, in this reſpect, and under theſe diſadvantages, he was not a match for men, who could neither *bluſh* nor *feel*.

" A man's good name, *ſays he*, is a tender " thing, and a wound there ſinks deep into the " ſpirit even of a wiſe and good man: and the " more innocent any man is in this kind, the " more ſenſible he is of this hard uſage; becauſe " he never treats others ſo, nor is he conſcious " to himſelf, that he hath deſerved it." Vol. I. Serm. XLII.

Every thing, they ſay, hath two handles. When SOCRATES was under ſentence of death, XANTHIPPE took on bitterly, and refuſing comfort, cried, " O my huſband! what grieves me " moſt is, that theſe wicked judges ſhould treat " an innocent man thus, and condemn thee un- " juſtly, and for nothing at all." " Wife, " *ſaid he*, why ſhould that grieve thee? hadſt " thou rather then that they had condemn'd me " juſtly?"

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

SERMON

Preach'd at the

MORNING-EXERCISE

AT

CRIPPLE-GATE.

In *September* 1661.

BY

Mr. JOHN TILLOTSON,

Afterwards Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Now firſt added to his WORKS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

MATTHEW vii. 12.

Therefore all things whatſoever you would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is the law and the prophets.

THESE words being brought in by way of inference from ſomething ſaid before, we muſt look back a little to find out the relation of them to the former verſes. At the ſeventh verſe Chriſt commands to aſk of God thoſe things, which we want; to encourage us to aſk, he promiſes us we ſhould receive; to induce us to believe this promiſe, he puts a temporal caſe: Our earthly fathers, who are evil, give us good things, when we aſk them: how much more eaſily may we believe this of a good God of infinite goodneſs? Now as we deſire God ſhould give us thoſe things we aſk, ſo we ſhould do to others; and not only ſo, but *univerſally in all other things, what we would, that men ſhould do to us, that we ſhould do to others. That men ſhould do unto you*; though the perſons be expreſſed, yet we may take it impersonally, by an uſual *Hebraiſm*, as if it had been ſaid; *whatever you would ſhould be done unto you*; leaving the perſon to be ſupply'd in the largeſt ſenſe: thus, *whatever you would ſhould be done unto you by God or men. This is the law and the prophets*, i. e. this is the ſum of the Old Teſtament, ſo far as concerns our duty to our neighbour.

The obſervation, which ariſeth from the words, is this:

The great rule of equity in all our dealings with men is this, to do as we would be done unto. This rule hath been otherwiſe expreſt, but not more emphatically in any other form of words than this here in the text. Matt. xxii. 39. *Love thy neighbour as thyſelf:* This requires, that we ſhould bear the ſame affection to our neighbour, which we would have him bear to us: but the rule in the text expreſly requires, that we ſhould do the ſame offices to others, which we would have them do to us. SEVERUS the Emperor, as the hiſtorian LAMPRIDIUS tells us, did learn this rule of Chriſtians, and did much reverence Chriſt and Chriſtianity for it; but he expreſſed it negatively, *Quod tibi non vis, alteri ne feceris.* Now this forbids us to do Injuries to others, but doth not ſo expreſly command us to do Kindneſſes and Courteſies.

In ſpeaking to this Rule, I ſhall give you,

I. The *explication* of it.
II. The *grounds* of it.
III. The inſtances, wherein we ought principally to practiſe it.

I. For explication, the meaning of it is this: "Put thyſelf into the caſe and circumſtances "of every man, with whom thou haſt to do; "that is, ſuppoſe thou wert he, and as he is, "and he were thyſelf, and as thou art: that "then, which thou wouldſt deſire he ſhould do "to thee, that do thou to him; and that, "which thou wouldſt be unwilling he ſhould "do to thee, do not thou to him." Now this is

is an exact rule, for we are very curious in determining our own privileges, and what duty others owe to us: Juſt ſo much as we take to ourſelves, we muſt allow to others; what we expect from others, when we are in ſuch circumſtances, we muſt do the ſame to them in the like. And this is a plain and eaſy rule. Many men cannot tell what is law, or juſtice, or right in ſuch a caſe; many cannot deduce the laws of nature one from another: but there is no man but can tell what it is, that he would have another man do to him: every man can take his own actions, and put them into the other ſcale, and ſuppoſe, If this, that I do now to another, were to be done to me, ſhould I like it? Should I be pleas'd and contented with it? And thus by changing the ſcale, his own ſelf-love, and ſelf-intereſt, and other paſſions, will add nothing to the weight; for that ſelf-intereſt, which makes a man covetous, and inclines him to wrong another man for his own advantage, makes him likewiſe (when the ſcales are chang'd) unwilling, that another man ſhould wrong him. That ſelf-conceit, which makes a man proud, and apt to ſcorn and deſpiſe others, makes him unwilling, that another ſhould contemn him.

I queſtion not but by this time you underſtand the meaning of the rule; but we are not yet paſt all difficulties about it. Three things are to be done, before this rule will be of uſe to us:

1. We muſt make it appear, that it is *reaſonable.*

2. Make it *certain*; for till it be certain, it cannot be a rule.

3. Make it *practicable.*

1. We muſt make it appear to be *reaſonable*. The difficulty about the reaſonableneſs of it is this: According to this rule I ſhall be oblig'd to do that many times, which is ſinful; and to omit that, which is a neceſſary duty. I will give two or three inſtances. SAUL would have had his armour-bearer to have kill'd him: might he therefore have kill'd his armour-bearer, if he had been willing, and had deſir'd it? I may not be an inſtrument or furtherer of another man's ſin, though I were ſo wicked as to deſire, that another would be ſo to me. If I were a Child, I would not have my father correct me; or a malefactor, I would not have the magiſtrate cut me off. Muſt there therefore be no correction or puniſhment? Now becauſe of theſe, and the like inſtances, which may be given, the rule is neceſſarily to be underſtood of things, that may be done or omitted, *i. e.* which are not unlawful or unreaſonable. SAUL might not kill his armour-bearer; I may not further another man's ſin, in the caſes propounded; becauſe theſe things may not be done, they are morally impoſſible, that is, unlawful. A parent or magiſtrate may not wholly omit correction or puniſhment, becauſe ſuch omiſſion would tend to the ruin of good manners and of human ſociety.

2. We muſt make the rule *certain*. The difficulty about the certainty of it is this: Everlaſting diſputes will ariſe about what is lawful and reaſonable, and unlawful and unreaſonable. Now we muſt reduce it to a certainty thus: Whatever I would, that another ſhould do to me, that I ſhould do to him, unleſs the thing be plainly and evidently unlawful or unreaſonable. And this cuts off all diſputes: For tho' there

there may be perpetual diſputes about what is lawful and reaſonable, or the contrary; yet there can be no diſpute about the unlawfulneſs and unreaſonableneſs of thoſe things, which are plainly and evidently ſo; for that, which is plain and evident, is out of all diſpute. To confirm this, let us conſider another text, *Phil.* iv. 8. where the Apoſtle exhorts Chriſtians to follow whatever things are *true*, and *honeſt*, and *juſt*, and *pure*; and as a diſcovery of what things are ſuch, he adds, whatever things are *lovely*, of *good report*, and *praiſe-worthy*; that is, whatever things are amiable, well ſpoken of, and prais'd by wiſe and good men, who are the only competent judges of theſe things, if they be not plainly contrary to truth, or honeſty, or juſtice, or purity, follow theſe things. And if this be not the meaning, thoſe words *lovely*, *of good report*, *praiſe-worthy*, are ſuperfluous, and do not at all direct our converſation, which certainly the Apoſtle intended to do by them.

3. We muſt make it *practicable*. There are two things, which make the practice of it difficult:

1. A ſeeming *contradiction* in the rule:

2. *Partiality* in judging of the circumſtances of other mens conditions, and our own.

1. A ſeeming *contradiction* in the rule; which you will ſee in theſe inſtances. If I deſire a thing, I would not have another ſtand in competition with me for it. If another deſire a thing, I would not have him think much, that I ſtand in competition with him. If I be indebted to another, I would not have him arreſt me. If another be indebted to me, I would not have him think much, that I arreſt him. When

we ſell, we care not how dear; when we buy, we care not how cheap. Now if this were a real contradiction in the rule, it were impoſſible it ſhould be put in practice; but it is only a contradiction in our *wills*, which muſt thus be reconcil'd to the *rule*.

(1.) We muſt conſider, which of theſe wills is moſt reaſonable, and the greater reaſon and equity muſt carry it; and that, which is plainly unreaſonable, in compariſon of the other, is not to be regarded. If we conſider the two firſt inſtances, this is moſt reaſonable, that where men have an equal right, they ſhould be allow'd an equal liberty to uſe that right. Another man hath as much right to ſtand in competition with me for any thing, as I to ſtand in competition with him; and to arreſt me in caſe of debt, as I to arreſt him: and it is plainly unreaſonable, that I ſhould uſe this right, and another be debarr'd from it.

(2.) If both theſe contradictory wills be plainly unreaſonable, as in the third inſtance of buying and ſelling, they muſt be accommodated by finding out ſuch a medium, as is equally and mutually good for all buyers and ſellers; that is, ſuch a proportion of gain may be taken, and muſt be allow'd to be taken, as will be equally and mutually good for all buyers and ſellers.

2. Another difficulty in the practice of this rule ariſeth from mens *partiality*, in judging of the circumſtances of other mens conditions and their own. We are apt to leſſen the circumſtances of another man's condition, and to overvalue our own. Another man's concernments ſeem leſs to us, than they are, and our own greater than they are. Now this difficulty will moſt

moſt eminently appear in *caſes of paſſion and intereſt*, and thoſe *ſubordinate relations*, which are at the greateſt diſtance. Another man provokes me; I revenge myſelf on him. One aſks me, *Would you be contented to be thus dealt withal?* I am ready to anſwer, *Yea, if I ſhould ſo provoke another.* I aggravate the fault of his provocation, and leſſen that of my own revenge: here is *paſſion.* I deſire a courteſy of a man, which he cannot conveniently do for me; he denies me; I think much at him, becauſe I judge the *courteſy leſs*, and *his obligations* to do it *greater*, than indeed it is: here is *intereſt.* I think, if I were a father, I ſhould not carry myſelf ſo ſeverely towards my children; if I were a maſter, I ſhould give more liberty to ſervants, and uſe them with a greater familiarity; if I were a miniſter, I ſhould not gall the conſciences of people by ſo free and open a reproof of ſin; if I were a magiſtrate, I ſhould make other laws, or puniſh ſome crimes more or leſs ſeverely. Now if men frequently thus miſ-judge, how ſhall this rule be put in practice?

To remove theſe difficulties, as much as may be, and to make the practice of this rule more eaſy, obſerve theſe rules:

1. Labour to underſtand truly every man's condition, ſo far as you have opportunity. This is eaſily ſaid; but how ſhall we come to do it? Thus, when you are in any condition, obſerve diligently the motions of your own mind, and how your affections then work, and what apprehenſions you then have of things, and what it is, that in ſuch a condition you deſire, and expect from others; and labour to remember this, when you

you are out of that condition, and to retain the ſenſe, which you then had of things.

2. In caſes, wherein you are unexperienc'd, and which you cannot reaſonably be preſum'd to underſtand, partly becauſe of your diſtance from that condition, partly becauſe of the oppoſition of your own intereſt, and partly becauſe of the miſts and clouds of your own paſſion; truſt the concurrent experience of others, who are in that condition, and think, that you ought not to do that to another, which the generality of mankind count grievous; and that fit to be done, which the moſt and wiſeſt in ſuch a condition and relation do uſually expect. If men, when they are under, and lie at the mercy of others, generally deſire, that clemency and moderation ſhould be uſed towards them, how juſt ſoever thou mayſt think thy ſeverity is, and that thou wouldſt be contented, that another ſhould deal ſo with thee; yet do not truſt thy preſent apprehenſions of things, but believe, that thou wilt have the ſame ſenſe of things, when they lie heavy upon thee, with the reſt of mankind; and when thou art in their circumſtances, thou wilt deſire quarter, as they do. In like manner, that reſpect and obedience, which parents, and maſters, and magiſtrates do generally expect (even the beſt and wiſeſt of them) that do thou pay to them; and tho' it may have ſome appearance of rigour and injuſtice, yet believe, that when thou comeſt to be in the ſame relation, thou wilt expect the ſame things, as they do: and that thou doſt now judge otherwiſe, proceeds from thy inexperience or diſtance from that condition, or from paſſion and oppoſition of intereſt.

3.

3. Conclude, that in caſes betwixt ſuperiors and inferiors, the partiality is uſually on the inferior's ſide; and it is reaſonable thus to conclúde, both becauſe inferiors have ſeldom had experience of the other condition, as ſuperiors uſually have had; (a child hath not been a parent, or a ſervant ordinarily a maſter, or a ſubject a magiſtrate; but parents have all been children, and moſt maſters have been ſervants, and many magiſtrates ſubjects, and ſo they have had experience of both conditions) and likewiſe becauſe inferiors cannot ſo well ſee the condition and circumſtances of thoſe, that are above them, as thoſe, that are above, can of thoſe, that are below them: they have the advantage of ground, and better opportunities of knowledge.

4. In judging of your preſent condition and circumſtances, always abate ſomething for the preſence of them, and for ſelf-love, and ſelf-intereſt, and other paſſions. He, that doth not conſider, how apt every man is unequally to favour himſelf, doth not know the littleneſs and narrowneſs of human nature. We are near to ourſelves, and our own intereſt is near to us, and we ſee it in its full proportions, and with all poſſible advantages. Other men and their intereſts are at a diſtance from us, and ſeem leſs to us than they are. Now we muſt make abatements for this, according to that experience, which we have had of our own miſtakes; which if we will obſerve, as we paſs from one condition into another, we may eaſily be convinc'd, how great many times they are.

II. For the *grounds* of this: The equity of this rule ſtands upon theſe foundations:

1. All

1. All men are equal in many things, and thoſe the greateſt things. Now I ſhould deal equally with him, whom I acknowledge to be mine equal. *Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?* Mal. ii. 10. Are we not all made of the ſame materials? *Is it not appointed for all men once to die*, Heb. ix. 27. and after death to ſtand before the impartial judgment of GOD? We have all the ſame notions of right and wrong; we are all obnoxious to one another, and may be all beneficial one to another; we all love ourſelves, and ſtudy the advancement of our intereſt and happineſs. Thus far equal.

2. In moſt of thoſe things, wherein we are unequal, the inequality is not conſiderable, ſo as to be a ground of any unequal dealing with one another. As to *ſtrength of body*, whatever the difference be, the inequality is not conſiderable, becauſe as to the greateſt effects of ſtrength there is an equality. Every man, that will venture his own life, may take away another man's, either by open force or by ſurprize. As to *abilities of mind* (which we uſually call *parts*) there is originally a great equality, eſpecially if that receiv'd opinion be true, that *ſouls are equal:* And, as the *French* Philoſopher DES CARTES has ingeniouſly obſerv'd, there is this notable ſign of the equality of mens underſtandings; *Nulla res* (ſaith he) *æquabilius inter homines diſtributa eſt quam bona mens*, &c. *Nothing is more equally divided among men, than a good underſtanding. Men will acknowledge others to be richer and ſtronger than themſelves; few will acknowledge others to be wiſer, or to have better*

Dominus eſt alterius vitæ quicunque contemnit ſuam.

Diſſertat. de methodo.

parts than themſelves. Every man thinks himſelf to have ſo good a proportion of parts and wiſdom, that even thoſe, who are moſt covetous, and have the moſt inſatiable deſires as to other things, and whom nature could never ſatisfy in any thing elſe, yet would not deſire to have more wit than they have, or exchange their parts with any man. Now there is no better ſign of an equal diſtribution of things, than that every man is contented with his ſhare. *Now becauſe all men generally think thus, it is to be preſum'd, that all are not deceiv'd; but that there is ſome real equality, which is the ground of this conceit.* A difference indeed muſt be granted, but which ariſeth uſually from one of theſe two caſes; either an *unequal exerciſe of our parts, or an unequal temper of body.* Now thoſe, who are ſo happy, as to exerciſe their underſtandings more than others, are very often rather conceited, that they are wiſer than others, than really ſo; *for the greateſt clerks are not always the wiſeſt men.* Thoſe, who are unhappy in the temper of their bodies, are thereby inclin'd, how weak ſoever they be, to conceit themſelves as wiſe as others. So that whatever real inequality there be, conceit levels all again. So that whether men be really wiſe, or only think themſelves ſo, it makes no difference as to mens dealing one with another; for they, that think themſelves equal, will not deal but upon equal terms. So that ARISTOTLE's pretty notion, that *wiſe men are born to govern, and fools to obey*, ſignifies very little in this caſe; for there are but few ſuch fools in the world, but would govern, if they can. So that by virtue of wiſdom or parts, no

Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus eſt.

Politic. c. 3.

no man can challenge a privilege or prerogative to himſelf above others, which another will not pretend to as well as he.

3. In all thoſe things, wherein men are unequal, the inequality is not fix'd and conſtant, but mutable and by turns. All things, that belong to us, are either the *endowments of the mind*, the *accidents of the body*, or the *circumſtances of our outward eſtate*. Now thoſe, that are moſt unequal in any of theſe, may be equal; for the inequality may turn, and be as much on the other ſide. A diſeaſe may ruin the moſt happy and excellent *memory*, and make a man forget his own name; a little knock on any ſide of the head may level the higheſt *underſtanding* with the meaneſt; *beauty*, *health*, and *ſtrength* may be blaſted by a diſeaſe, or a thouſand other accidents; *riches*, and *honour*, and *reputation*, are the moſt ſlippery and brittle things, that belong to us; and, when theſe are gone, *friends* will fall off like leaves in autumn. Now why ſhould I deſpiſe another man, when I may be as ſilly as he? or bear down another by my ſtrength, when I may be as weak as he? or inſult over another's poor and low condition, when a day may level me with his meanneſs, and raiſe him to be as great and rich as I am?

4. Another ground is, *The mutual and univerſal equity and advantage of this rule*. Upon thoſe terms I and all men ſhall be equally dealt with: it will be well with me, and well with all men. The obſervation of this rule would ſecure peace to the world: and, if it were generally practis'd, thoſe few, that ſhould offend againſt it, would be look'd upon as the peſts and troublers of human ſociety. As by the violation

of

of this rule every man becomes a *wolf* and *beaſt of prey* to another, ſo by the obſervation of it every man would be a *God* to another; men would be full of mutual goodneſs, and pity, and compaſſion; they would be mutual benefactors one to another. All men would be as happy, as it is poſſible for them to be in this world, and no man could be miſerable, if it were in the power of his neighbour to help him.

5. The laſt ground I ſhall mention is, *The abſurdity and inconvenience of the contrary.*

And this is the moſt proper way of proving this; for, as ARISTOTLE tells us, *firſt principles, which are evident by their own light, cannot be prov'd by way of demonſtration but of conviction.* As thus, *contradictions cannot be true at once:* this cannot be demonſtrated *a priori*, becauſe there is nothing true before it, to prove it by: therefore whoever ſhall deny it, muſt be convinc'd of the truth of it, by ſhewing the abſurdities of the contrary. In like manner, this being one of the firſt principles of human ſociety, That we ſhould uſe no more liberty towards other men, than we would allow them to uſe towards us; the beſt way to convince any man of the reaſonableneſs and equity of it, will be to ſhew him the inconveniences of the contrary. Wherever this principle is violated, men will think themſelves injur'd; where men are injur'd, they will be apt to vindicate themſelves. Hence come contention and wars, which looſe the bands of human ſociety; or, if a man can pardon an injury, that hath receiv'd one, yet he, that hath done it, cannot believe ſo, but he will fear revenge; and fear of being oppreſt makes a man ſeek to anticipate and prevent another: ſo that every

injury endangers the peace and ſecurity of mankind, and lays the foundation of perpetual miſchief; for by the ſame reaſon that I injure any man, I am oblig'd to ruin him.

He, that breaks this rule, doth what he can to break human ſociety; that is, to ſpoil himſelf of all common protection, and to leave himſelf to ſtand upon his guard againſt all the world; in which ſtate no man can hope to continue, that is not wiſer and ſtronger than all the world.

Ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν ἢ μηδὲν δεόμενος διὰ τὸ αὐτάρκης εἶναι, οὐδὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός. *Pol. c. 2.*

ARISTOTLE tells us, *He, that deſires to be alone, muſt either be a God or a wild beaſt*; that is, he muſt either be ſelf-ſufficient, and ſtand in need of nothing; or elſe be wild and ſavage, and delight in cruelty and miſchief.

III. The *inſtances*, wherein we ought chiefly to practiſe this rule, are theſe:

1. In matters of *civil reſpect and converſation*, I muſt treat every man with that fair reſpect I would have another to ſhew me. We muſt accommodate ourſelves to mens particular tempers, and not be froward, or intractable, or tenacious of our own humour, eſpecially when it lies in another man's way: but we muſt be apt to recede and give way, that there may be room for other mens tempers and humours, as well as ours: our humour muſt not take up all the world. Thoſe, who want this complaiſance, are in ſociety (as one ingeniouſly compares them) like irregular ſtones in a building, which are full of roughneſs and corners; they take up more room than they fill; till they be poliſh'd and made even, others cannot lie near them: ſo men of ſharp and perverſe humours are unſociable, till the ruggedneſs and aſperities of their nature

nature be taken off. We muſt not carry ourſelves inſolently, or ſuperciliouſly, or contemptuouſly towards others; we muſt not be contumelious; nor by deed or word, countenance or geſture, declare hatred or contempt of others. We muſt not upbraid one another with any imperfection, or weakneſs, or deformity; we muſt not peremptorily contradict others; we muſt not uſe to talk things diſpleaſing to others, wherein their credit, or relations, or eſpecially their religion is concern'd. JOSEPHUS ſaith, this was one of MOSES's laws (it was a good one, whoſe-ever it was) ὃς ἄλλαι πόλεις νομόζουσι θεὸς, μηδεὶς βλασφημείτω; *Let no man blaſpheme that, which other nations count a God*, or make their religion. Not but that every man may confute a falſe religion, and endeavour by all fair ways to convince a Jew, or Turk, or Heathen; but we may not reproach another man's religion, or provoke any man in ordinary converſation by unſeaſonable and uncivil reflections upon it: for we are with meekneſs to convince gainſayers, to reprove men for their ſins, but not to upbraid them with them. We muſt give no offence to the Jew, or to the Gentile, remembring always, that *the wrath of man doth not work the righteouſneſs of God*; and that MICHAEL the Arch-angel, when he contended with the devil, did not *bring a railing accuſation againſt him*; he did not revile him, no, not in the heat of diſpute. And there is great reaſon, why we ſhould thus carry ourſelves towards others, becauſe we ourſelves would not be contemn'd or deſpis'd; we would not have any man jeer us, or inſult over us, or upbraid us, or peeviſhly contradict us, or affront us by

Antiquit. Judiac. lib. IV.

ſpeaking unhandſomely of us, or of our relations, or our religion. Now if we would have others to conſider us, we muſt not neglect them; if we would be taken notice of for ſome body, we muſt not overlook others with contempt. Every thing thinks itſelf conſiderable; and there is nothing comes ſooner to us, or continues longer with us, than a ſenſe of our own worth; and we judge ill of human nature, if we think another man is not as impatient of rude and uncivil uſage as we are. Nothing would be deſpis'd; a worm would not be trod upon; nay, men do uſually over-value themſelves, and are apt to think, that they are owners of that ſingular worth, which may command reſpect from all men; and that every one, that paſſeth by, ought to fall down, and do obeiſance to them. They have JOSEPH's dream waking, they think *all mens ſheaves bow to their ſheaves*; they think every man takes notice of them, and obſerves their carriage and actions, when probably not one of a thouſand ever took them into conſideration, or aſk'd who they were. Now we muſt conſider, that it is a hundred to one but there is a little of this vanity in us alſo, and that we do uſually look for more reſpect than is due. Therefore it will not be amiſs, in our reſpects towards others, *largiri aliquid*, to give men ſomething above what we think they deſerve; and the rather, becauſe civil reſpect is cheap, and coſts us nothing, and we expect from others full as much as comes to our ſhare; for it is a miſtake to think, that we do but righteouſly eſteem ourſelves, and that we have no more than a juſt value of our own worth.

2. In matters of *kindneſs* and *courteſies*, we muſt be uſeful to one another. I would have no man churliſh to me, but ready to gratify me, and do me a kindneſs. Do I think much to be deny'd a reaſonable favour, and doth not another ſo too? We would have all men love us, that is, bear ſuch an affection to us, that, when it falls in their way, they ſhould be ready to do us a courteſy. We would not have courteſies done in a diſcourteous manner, extorted by importunity, or upbraided to us afterwards. Let us likewiſe diſpenſe favours with a liberal hand and a chearful countenance, that men may ſee, that they come from a kind heart, and a real good will.

3. In matters of *charity* and *compaſſion:* If any man be in miſery, pity him, and help him to your power; if any be in neceſſity and want, contribute to his relief, without too ſcrupulous inquiries about him; for we would be thus dealt with ourſelves, we would not have others to harden their hearts, or ſhut up their bowels of compaſſion againſt us. Is any man caſt down? do not inſult over him, and trample upon him; do not look upon him with ſcorn, and rejoice over him in the day of diſtreſs. *Res eſt ſacra miſer; perſons in miſery are ſacred, and not to be violated.* When you ſee any man in calamity, think ye hear him ſay to you with Job, *I alſo could ſpeak as you do, if your ſoul were in my ſoul's ſtead: I could heap up words againſt you, and ſhake mine head at you; but I would ſtrengthen you with my mouth, and the moving of my lips ſhould aſſuage your grief*, Job xvi. 4, 5.

4. In matters of *forbearance* and *forgiveneſs*. We ſtand in need of forbearance and pardon

from others, from God and men; we ſhould be loth God ſhould take advantage againſt us upon every provocation, and let fly at us with a thunder-bolt every time we offend him. We would not have men ſtorm and fall into paſſion with us upon every ſlight occaſion. I would have great allowances given to me; I would have my *ignorance*, and *inadvertency*, and *miſtakes*, and *preſent temper*, and all *occaſions* and *provocations*, and every thing conſider'd. And when I have done amiſs, upon acknowledgment of my fault, I would be forgiven and receiv'd to favour. Now if we would be thus dealt with, we muſt bear with others: the beſt men need ſome grains of allowance; *nullum unquam ingenium placuit ſine venia*; no man was ever ſo perfect, ſo accompliſh'd, ſo unexceptionable, but there was ſomething or other in his carriage, that needed pardon. Every man hath a particular humour; we muſt give ſome allowance for that: every man is ſubject to miſtake, we muſt allow for that too: and if a man have committed a fault, we muſt accept of an ingenuous acknowledgment, and be ready to grant him peace. There is a ſhame and diſdain in human nature of too vile a ſubmiſſion; therefore we muſt not bring a man too low, when we have him at advantage.

5. In matter of *report*, and *repreſentation* of other *men* and their *actions*. We muſt not take up a raſh prejudice, or entertain a ſiniſter apprehenſion of any upon ſlight grounds. Do not repreſent any man, his words or actions, at a diſadvantage; make the beſt of every thing. A man's good name is like a looking-glaſs, nothing is ſooner crackt, and every breath can ſully it.

it. Handle every man's reputation with the ſame tenderneſs thou wouldſt have every man uſe towards thine. Do not ſlander or defame any man, or rejoice to hear other mens miſcarriages ript open; do not account it an entertainment to cenſure and backbite all the world.

6. In matters of *truſt* and *fidelity*. Where I place a confidence, and repoſe a truſt, I would not be deceiv'd; I muſt not deceive another, nor let any man fall, that leans upon me. If a man truſt me with the management of his buſineſs, or lodge a ſecret with me, or put his life into my power, or commit the care of his eſtate or children to me after his death; theſe are ingenuous truſts, and muſt be diſcharg'd with the ſame faithfulneſs we expect from others.

7. In matter of *duty* and *obedience*. We muſt give that honour to our parents, which we would expect from our children; and pay that reverence to maſters, which we would exact from our ſervants. We muſt riſe up before the grey head, and give reſpect to old age; for let us not think, but that the change of relation and of age, will have the ſame effect upon us, which it hath upon the reſt of the world. It is a folly to talk, that when we are old, we ſhall be pleas'd with the inſolencies of youth; when we are maſters, we ſhall not be at all offended with the contemptuous carriage of our ſervants; that it will not touch our hearts to have our children undutiful and void of reſpect, to ſee the fruit of our body unnatural and unkind to us.

8. In matters of *freedom* and *liberty*, which are not determin'd by any natural or poſitive law. We muſt permit as much to others as we aſſume to our ſelves; and this is a ſign of an

equal and temperate perſon, and one that juſtly values his own underſtanding and power. But there is nothing, wherein men uſually deal more unequally with one another, than in indifferent opinions and practices of religion. I account that an indifferent opinion, which good men differ about; not that ſuch an opinion is indifferent as to truth or error, but as to ſalvation or damnation it is not of neceſſary belief. By an indifferent practice in religion, I mean that, which is in its own nature neither a duty, nor a ſin to do or omit. Where I am left free, I would not have any man to rob me of my liberty, or intrench upon my freedom; and becauſe he is ſatisfied ſuch a thing is lawful and fit to be done, expect I ſhould do it, who think it otherwiſe; or becauſe he is confident ſuch an opinion is true, be angry with me, becauſe I cannot believe as faſt as he. Now if another do ill in doing thus to me, I cannot do well in doing ſo to another. And do not ſay, that thou art ſure thou art in the right, and he, that differs from thee, in the wrong; and therefore thou mayſt impoſe upon him, tho' he may not upon thee. Hath not every man this confidence of his own opinion and practice? And uſually the weakeſt cauſe bears up with the greateſt confidence. Now if thou wouldſt not have another, who is confident he is in the right, impoſe upon thee, do not thou impoſe upon another for all thy confidence. We ſhould rather be modeſt, and ſay every one to our ſelves, *How came I to be ſo much wiſer than other men? Which way came the Spirit of the Lord from ſo many wiſe and pious men, to ſpeak unto me? is it a peculiar privilege granted to me, that I cannot be miſtaken? or*

not

are not they moſt of all miſtaken, who think they cannot miſtake? If then I be but like other men, why ſhould I take ſo much upon me, as if my underſtanding were to be a rule, and my apprehenſions a ſtandard to the whole world? as if when another man differs from me, I did not differ as much from him. Why may not another man underſtand the thing better than I do, or what crime is it, if he underſtand it not ſo well? were all mens underſtandings caſt in the ſame mould? is it preſumption for any man to know more than I do, or a ſin to know leſs? Job doth well reprove this ſelf-conceit, *Job* xii. 2, 3. His friends would needs bear him down, and were very angry with him, that he was not of their mind, and would not acknowledge all to be true of himſelf, which they ſaid againſt him. He takes them up ſharply: *No doubt ye are the people, and wiſdom ſhall die with you; but I have underſtanding as well as you, and I am not inferior to you.—Who knoweth not ſuch things as theſe?* Let not any man think, that he hath ingroſs'd all the knowledge of the world to himſelf, but others know the ſame things, which he doth, and many things better than he.

9. In matters of *commerce*, and *contracts* which ariſe from thence. Now a contract is a mutual transferring of right. When I buy any thing of another, he makes over the right of ſuch a commodity to me for ſo much money, or other valuable thing, the right whereof I make over to him. Now in this kind of intercourſe, we are to be govern'd by this great rule. In making of contracts we muſt *agere bona fide*, deal honeſtly and truly: in performing of contracts we muſt *liberare fidem*, ſatisfy the ingage-

ment we have made; for thus we ourſelves would be dealt withal.

Now if any ſhall deſire to be more particularly ſatisfy'd, *what that exact righteouſneſs is, which in matter of contracts ought to be obſerv'd betwixt man and man?* I muſt confeſs this is a difficult queſtion, and to be handled very modeſtly by ſuch, as acknowledge themſelves unacquainted with the affairs of the world, and the neceſſities of things, and the particular and hidden reaſons of ſome kind of dealings; for he, who is ignorant of theſe, may eaſily give rules, which will not comply with the affairs of the world. He may complain of that, which cannot be otherwiſe, and blame ſome kind of dealings, which are juſtifiable from particular reaſons, not obvious to any man, who is unſeen in the way of trade. Beſides, there are many caſes fall under this queſtion, which are very nice, but of great conſequence; and the greater caution and tenderneſs ought to be us'd in the reſolution of them, becauſe they are matters of conſtant practice, and the greateſt part of mankind are concern'd in them. Now it is a dangerous thing to miſtake in thoſe things, in which many perſons are intereſted, eſpecially if they be things of ſuch a vaſt difference, as good and evil, right and wrong are: For if that be determin'd to be lawful, which is unlawful, men are led into ſin; if that be determin'd to be unlawful, which is lawful, men are led into a ſnare: For if this determination be to the prejudice of men in their callings, it is an hundred to one but common example and private intereſt will make many continue in that practice; and then the miſchief is this; tho' men do that, which is lawful and

right, yet they are ſtagger'd by the authority and confidence of him, who hath determin'd it unlawful; and ſo have ſome reluctancy in their conſciences in the doing of it; and this by accident becomes a great ſin to' them. And when upon a ſick bed, or any other occaſion, they come to be touch'd with the ſenſe of ſin, this will be matter of greater horror and affrightment to them, than a real ſin, which they committed ignorantly, and were afterwards convinc'd of. Upon all theſe conſiderations, I ought to proceed with great warineſs in the anſwering of this queſtion. Therefore I ſhall content myſelf with ſpeaking thoſe things, which are clear and evident, tho' they be but general, rather than venture out of my depth, by deſcending into particulars, and ſuch things, as are out of my notice.

I ſhall therefore,

1. Lay down the general *rule*.

2. Some *propoſitions*, which may tend to the explication of it.

3. Some ſpecial rules for the directing of our commerce and intercourſe.

1. The general *rule* is this, *That, which it is not unreaſonable for me to deſire to gain by another, when I am to ſell, that I ſhould allow another to gain by me, when I am to buy; and that, which is not unreaſonable another ſhould gain by me, when I am to buy, that and no more I may gain by another, when I am to ſell.*

2. The *propoſitions*, which I ſhall lay down for the further explication of this rule, are theſe:

(1.) *In buying and ſelling, ſuch a proportion of gain may be taken, and ought to be allow'd, as is mutually and univerſally beſt.* And this every man

man is preſum'd to deſire, becauſe this will be certainly good for every one; whereas if it be not univerſally good, it may be bad for any one; if it be not mutually ſo, it will be bad for me by turns.

(2.) *That proportion of gain, which allows a reaſonable compenſation for our time, and pains, and hazard, is univerſally and mutually beſt.* If the compenſation be unreaſonably great, it will be bad for the buyer; if unreaſonably little, it will be bad for the ſeller; if equal and reaſonable, it will be good for all.

(3.) *That proportion of gain, which in common intercourſe and uſe of bargaining, among thoſe, who underſtand what they buy and ſell, is generally allow'd, ought to be eſteem'd a reaſonable compenſation.* This is evident, becauſe the common reaſon of mankind doth beſt determine what is reaſonable. Therefore, thoſe, who ſpeak of *commutative juſtice*, and place it *in the equality of things contracted for*, need explaining; for *value* is not a thing *abſolute* and *certain*, but *relative* and *mutable*. Now to fix the value of things as much as may be, this *rule* is commonly given, *tanti unumquodque valet, quanti vendi poteſt*; *every thing is worth ſo much as it may be ſold for*: Which muſt not be underſtood too particularly, as if the preſent and particular appetite of the contractor were to be the rule; for every thing is not worth ſo much, as any body will give for it; but ſo much, as in common intercourſe among knowing perſons it will give. For this I take for a truth, that in the ordinary plenty of commodities, there is an ordinary and uſual price of them known to the underſtanding perſons of every profeſſion. If I be out in this,

the matter of gain will be more uncertain than I thought of.

(4.) *A reaſonable compenſation doth not conſiſt in an indiviſible point, but hath a certain latitude, which likewiſe is to be determin'd by the common intercourſe and practice of men.* Suppoſe ten in the hundred be the uſual gain made of ſuch a commodity, eleven the higheſt, nine the loweſt; the latitude is betwixt nine and eleven.

(5.) *Every man engag'd in a way of commerce is preſum'd to underſtand, unleſs the contrary be evident.* So that, keeping within the latitude of a lawful gain, I may uſe my ſkill againſt another man in driving a bargain; but if his want of ſkill be evident, that is, ſufficiently known to me, I muſt uſe him as I would do a child, or other unſkilful perſon; that is, fairly.

(6.) *Where the price of things alters* (as it often doth almoſt in all things) *no other rule can be given but the common and market-price.* There are ſome things, which are fixedly certain, as coin. There I have no latitude at all; I may not put off a piece of money for more than its value, though a perſon out of ignorance would take it for more. There are ſome commodities, which in ordinary plenty, being of ordinary goodneſs, have an uſual price. Here I have but little latitude, *viz.* that of the market. In the riſing and falling of commodities I have a greater latitude; but uſually in theſe caſes the market ſets ſome kind of price, unleſs I be the ſole maſter of a commodity; and here the latitude is the greateſt, and my own reaſon and moderation muſt limit me. And if any aſk, why I make the market the rule, ſeeing this ſeems to be, as if I ſhould ſay, Let every man get

get as much as he can, for ſo men in the market do; I anſwer, The market is uſually more reaſonable than the particular appetites of men; and tho' every man be apt to get as much as he can, yet men generally have an appetite to ſell, as well as to ſell dear, and that checks this; and men are brought to moderation, becauſe they are unwilling to loſe cuſtom: ſo that he, who governs himſelf by the market-prices, not catching at particular advantages, ſeems to me to follow the ſafeſt rule.

(7.) *There are ſome things allow'd in common intercourſe, which are ſo rigorous, that they are hardly juſt*, which are rather tolerable than commendable. I will give one inſtance inſtead of many: A man hath a ſmall piece of ground lying within another man's eſtate; he is willing to ſell, but requires (poſſibly) forty or ſixty years purchace, or more, according to the particular appetite of the purchaſer. This ſeems not to be ſo agreeable to this great rule of equity. I doubt not but ſome advantage may be made in this caſe, and I will not ſet any peremptory limits: I ſhall only ſay this in general, we ſhould ſet a moderate value upon another man's appetite and convenience.

(8.) *It is to be fear'd, that ſomething very like unrighteouſneſs is woven into the myſteries of moſt trades*; and, like PHIDIAS's image in MINERVA's ſhield, cannot be defac'd without the ruin of it. I think this is not a groundleſs jealouſy, but the confeſſion and complaint of the moſt knowing and underſtanding perſons in moſt human affairs. I ſhall inſtance only in the ſlightneſs of work, the imbaſing of commodities, and ſetting them off by indirect advantages. I

can

can only bewail this; for unleſs the world could generally be convinc'd of this, it is not like to be amended. Perfection is not to be look'd for in this imperfect ſtate; we muſt be content, if things are paſſable.

(9.) *Nevertheleſs we ought to aſpire after as great a degree of righteouſneſs and equity, as the condition of human affairs will admit.* We ſhould bend all our endeavours to the bettering of the world, and not only avoid all unrighteouſneſs, but draw back, as much as in us lies, from the indirect practices of the world, and from all appearance of unrighteouſneſs.

3. The more particular rules are theſe:

(1.) *Impoſe upon no man's ignorance or unſkilfulneſs.* Thou mayſt ſet a juſt value upon thine own commodity, but not a price upon another man's head. I mean, thou mayſt not rate a man's want of underſtanding, or ſet a tax upon his ignorance; therefore take no advantage of children, or any other incompetent perſons; and do not only uſe them with juſtice, but with ingenuity, as thoſe, that repoſe a truſt in you, and caſt themſelves upon your equity. And here are ſome queſtions to be reſolv'd.

Queſt. 1. *If a man be otherwiſe ſkilful in his calling, may not I take advantage of his ignorance of a particular circumſtance, wherein the contract is concern'd?*

Anſw. I will tell you how TULLY reſolves this in a particular caſe: "A man, *ſays he*, "brings a ſhip of corn from *Alex-* "*andria* to *Rhodes*, in a time of "great famine; he may have what "price he will; he knows of a great many "more ſhips, that will be there next day; may "he

De Officiis, l. 3.

" he conceal this from the *Rhodians?*" He determines peremptorily he may not. If we will be worſe than Heathens— I ſay no more.

Queſt. 2. *But may we not take advantage of the ignorance of the ſeller, tho' not of the buyer?* The difference is, he, that offers to ſell any thing at ſuch a price, is willing ſo to part with it; now there is no wrong done to him that is willing.

I anſwer, *A man is ſo far willing, as he is knowing:* ARISTOTLE tells us, *that ignorance is a ſort of unwillingneſs.* If a man out of forgetfulneſs, or want of conſideration, or ſufficient underſtanding of his own calling, miſtake himſelf, I may not make a prize of this man's weakneſs: for he is only willing to ſell it ſo upon ſuppoſition he remembers right, and underſtands himſelf aright; but the thing being really worth more, he is abſolutely unwilling, and I am injurious to him in taking advantage.

Queſt. 3. *May I not ſell ſecret faults and vices in a commodity?*

Anſw. If the faults be ſuch, as men take for granted do often happen, and notwithſtanding them they do not account any man to have deceiv'd them, then they are faults pardon'd by common conſent; but if they be ſuch, as I am griev'd at, and think myſelf not fairly dealt withal, when they happen, then ſome think it is enough to allow for them in the price. But I think TULLY hath determin'd it better: *Ne quid omnino quod venditor novit, emptor ignoret, That the buyer ſhould not be left ignorant of any thing, that the ſeller knows.* And this ſeems reaſonable, for I know not but another man may value thoſe faults higher than

Offic. lib. 3.

I do; however it is not ſo fair for me to make another man's bargain.

(2.) *Impoſe upon no man's neceſſity.* If a man muſt needs buy now, or of thee, becauſe none elſe is near, make no advantage of this.

(3.) *When God's providence hath put into thy hands ſome great opportunity and advantage* (as by the intervention of ſome unexpected law, by a ſudden war or peace betwixt nations, or by ſome other caſualty) *do not ſtretch it to the utmoſt. Fortunam reverenter habe; uſe this providential advantage modeſtly*; conſidering that he, whoſe bleſſing gave thee this opportunity, can blaſt thee a thouſand ways.

(4.) *Uſe plainneſs in all your dealings.* This the *Roman* laws call'd, *bona fide agere.* Do not diſparage another man's commodity, or raiſe your own beſides truth; this is ſinful. Do not inſinuate a commendation or diſparagement indirectly, thereby to lead a man into an error, that you may draw on a bargain the more eaſily. Do not (as your phraſe is) aſk or bid much out of the way; for if this be not ſimply unlawful, yet it doth not become an honeſt man. We commend the Quakers, becauſe they are at a word in all their dealings: we would be loth not to be counted as good chriſtians as they are. Let us then do as good things as they do, eſpecially when we account thoſe things praiſeworthy; and I am ſure this is no ways contrary to juſtice, and honeſty, and truth. I know nothing, that gives ſo real a reputation to that ſect as this practice: And would it not adorn thoſe, who account themſelves the more ſober chriſtians? If we praiſe this in others, let us practiſe it in our ſelves. We are apt to value our ſelves

much by our orthodox judgments; but let us take heed, that ſectaries do not confute us by their orthodox lives. For the ſake of religion, next to your conſciences, in all your dealings tender your reputation: For *quod conſcientia eſt apud Deum, id fama eſt apud homines: That which conſcience is in reference to God, that our reputation is in reſpect of men.*

(5.) *In matters of vanity and fancy, and things, which have no certain eſtimation, uſe moderation*; and ſo much the rather, becauſe in theſe thou art left to be thy own judge.

(6.) *Do not go to the utmoſt of things lawful.* He, that will always walk upon the brink, is in great danger of falling down: He, that will do the utmoſt of what he may, will ſome time or other be tempted to what he ſhould not; for it is a ſhort and eaſy paſſage from the utmoſt limits of what is *lawful*, to what is *evil* and *unlawful.* Therefore in that latitude, which you have of gain, uſe *favour towards the poor and neceſſitous, ingenuity towards the ignorant and unſkilful, and moderation towards all men.*

(7.) *Where you have any doubt about the equity of dealings, chuſe you the ſafeſt part, and that, which will certainly bring you peace.* For not only a good conſcience, but a quiet conſcience is to be valu'd above gain. Therefore in matters of duty do the moſt; in matters of privilege and diviſions of right, and proportions of gain, where there is any doubt, chuſe the leaſt, for this is always ſafe.

Thus I have laid down the *rule* and explain'd it, and have given as particular directions, as I could ſafely adventure to do. I muſt now leave it to every man to apply it more particularly to

to himſelf, and to deal faithfully with his own conſcience in the uſe of it. Circumſtances, which vary caſes, are infinite; therefore, when all is done, much muſt be left to the equity and chancery of our own breaſts. I have not told you how much in the pound you may gain, and no more; nor can I. A man may make a greater gain, at one time than another, of the ſame thing; he may take thoſe advantages, which the change of things and the providence of GOD gives him, uſing them moderately. A man may take more of ſome perſons than of others; provided a man uſe all men righteouſly, he may uſe ſome favourably. But I have on purpoſe forborn to deſcend to too many particularities; among other reaſons, for the ſake of Sir THOMAS MORE's obſervation concerning the Caſuiſts of his time, who, he ſaith, by their too particular reſolutions of caſes, did not teach men *non peccare, not to ſin*, but did ſhew them, *quam prope ad peccatum liceat accedere ſine peccato; how near men might come to ſin, and yet not ſin.*

The uſes, I ſhall make of all this, are theſe two:

USE 1.

Let us not revenge ourſelves. The rule is not, we ſhould do to others, as they do to us; but as we would have them to do to us; as if it were on purpoſe to prevent revenge. St. LUKE forbids revenge from this rule, *Luke* vi. 31, 32. *For if you love them, that love you*, &c. but love your enemies. Revenge is the greateſt offence againſt this rule; for he, that revengeth an injury, hath receiv'd one; he, that has re-

ceiv'd one, knows beſt what that is, which he would not have another to do to him. The nature of evil and injury is better known to the patient than to the agent. Men know better what they ſuffer, than what they do; he, that is injur'd, feels it, and knows how grievous it is; and will he do that to another?

USE 2.

Let me preſs this rule upon you: Live by it; in all your carriage and dealings with men, let it be preſent to you. Aſk your ſelves upon every occaſion, "would I, that another ſhould "deal thus with me, and carry himſelf thus "towards me?" But I ſhall preſs this chiefly as to juſtice and righteouſneſs in our commerce. It is ſaid, that SEVERUS the emperor caus'd this rule to be written upon his palace, and in all public places. Let it be written upon our houſes, and ſhops, and exchanges. This exhortation is not altogether improper for this auditory. You, that frequent theſe exerciſes, ſeem to have a good ſenſe of that part of religion, which is contain'd in the firſt table. Do not, by your violations of the ſecond, mar your obedience to the firſt: Do not prove yourſelves hypocrites in the firſt table, by being wicked in the ſecond. Give not the world juſt cauſe to ſay, that you are ungodly, becauſe they find you to be unrighteous; but manifeſt your *love to God, whom you have not ſeen*, by your *love to your brother whom you have ſeen*: And if any man wrong his brother, he cannot love him. Do not reject or deſpiſe this exhortation, under the contemptuous name of *morality*. Our Saviour tells us, this is a chief

Lampridius.

part

part of that, which hath ever been accounted religion in the world. *It is the law and the prophets*; and he, by injoining it, hath adopted it into chriſtianity, and made it goſpel. We ſhould have an eſpecial love to this precept, not only as it is the dictate of nature, and the law of MOSES; not only as it is a Jewiſh and Gentile principle, but as it is of the *houſhold of faith*. When the young-man told Chriſt, that *he had kept the commandments from his youth*, it is ſaid, *Jeſus loved him*; Mark x. 20, 21. Wherever we have learnt to deſpiſe *morality*, Jeſus loved it. When I read the heathen writers, eſpecially TULLY and SENECA, and take notice, what precepts of morality and laws of kindneſs are every where in their writings, I am ready to fall in love with them. How ſhould it make our blood riſe in many of our faces, who are Chriſtians, to hear with what ſtrictneſs TULLY determines caſes of conſcience, and how generouſly he ſpeaks of equity and juſtice towards all men? *Societatis arctiſſimum vinculum eſt magis arbitrari eſſe contra naturam, hominem homini detrahere ſui commodi cauſa, quam omnia incommoda ſubire: This is the ſtrongeſt bond of ſociety, to account it to be more againſt nature for any man to wrong another for his own advantage, than to undergo the greateſt inconveniencies.* And again; *non enim mihi eſt vita mea utilior, quam animi talis affectus, neminem ut violem commodi mei gratia: Nor is my life more dear and profitable to me, than ſuch a temper and diſpoſition of mind, as that I would not wrong any man for my own advantage.* Again, *tollendum eſt in rebus contrahendis omne mendacium: No kind of lying muſt be uſed in bargaining.* And to men- *Offic. Lib.* 3.

tion no more; *nec ut emat melius, nec ut vendat quicquam, ſimulabit aut diſſimulabit vir bonus: A good man will not counterfeit or conceal any thing, that he may buy the cheaper, or ſell the dearer.* And yet further to check our proneneſs to deſpiſe moral righteouſneſs, I cannot but mention an excellent paſſage to this purpoſe, which I have met with in a learned man of our own nation: *Two things,* ſaith he, *make up a Chriſtian, a true faith, and an honeſt converſation; and tho' the former uſually gives us the title, the latter is the ſurer: For true profeſſion, without an honeſt converſation, not only ſaves not, but increaſeth our weight of puniſhment; but a good life, without true profeſſion, tho' it brings us not to heaven, yet it leſſens the meaſure of our judgment: So that a moral man, ſo call'd, is a chriſtian by the ſurer ſide.* And afterwards; *I confeſs,* ſaith he, *I have not yet made that proficiency in the ſchools of our age, as that I could ſee, why the ſecond table, and the acts of it, are not as properly the parts of religion and chriſtianity, as the acts and obſervation of the firſt. If I miſtake, then it is St.* JAMES, *that hath abus'd me; for he deſcribing religion by its proper acts, tells us, that pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to viſit the fatherleſs and widows in their affliction, and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world: So that that thing, which in an eſpecial refin'd dialect of the new chriſtian language, ſignifies nothing but morality and civility, that in the language of the Holy Ghoſt imports true religion. Mark* xii. 33, 34. When the Scribe told Chriſt, that *to love God with all the heart,* &c. *and our neighbour as our ſelves, was more than whole burnt-offerings and ſacrifices;*

Mr. HALES.

it

it is ſaid, *when Jeſus ſaw, that he anſwer'd diſcreetly, he ſaid unto him, thou art not far from the kingdom of God.* They, that would have a religion without moral righteouſneſs, talk indiſcreetly, and are farther from the kingdom of God than a mere moral man. If we neglect this part of religion, we diſparage the goſpel, and abuſe our profeſſion; we are but pretenders to chriſtianity. PLUTARCH ſpeaks ſomewhere to this purpoſe: "He had rather poſterity ſhould "ſay, there was never ſuch a man as PLUTARCH, "than that he was a vicious, or cruel, or unjuſt "man." I had rather a man ſhould not call himſelf a chriſtian, that he ſhould renounce his title, than that by his life and actions he ſhould repreſent chriſtians to the world as oppreſſors, as unjuſt and treacherous dealers. If men will only uſe religion to cover their unrighteouſneſs, I had rather they would put off their cloaks, and be knaves *in querpo*, that every body may know them, than that they ſhould go like highway-men in vizards and diſguiſes, only that they may rob honeſt men the more ſecurely.

And to move you to the practice of this rule, I ſhall only offer to you one conſideration, but which hath ſo much weight in it, that it may be inſtead of many: *As you deal with others, ſo ye ſhall be dealt with.* With what meaſure you mete to others, it ſhall be meaſur'd to you, is a proverbial ſpeech often us'd by our Saviour, and which one time or other you will find to be very ſignificant. GOD doth many times by his providence order things ſo, that in this life mens unrighteouſneſs returns upon their own heads, and their violent dealing upon their own pates. There is a divine *Nemeſis*, which brings our

iniquities upon ourſelves. No man hath any vice or humour alone, but it may be match'd in the world, either in its own kind, or in another. If a man be cruel and inſolent, *a* BAJAZET *ſhall meet with a* TAMERLANE: if a man delight to jeer and abuſe others, *no man hath ſo good a wit, but another hath as good a memory*; he will remember it to revenge it. He, that makes a trade of deceiving and cozening others, doth but teach others to cozen him; and there are but few maſters in any kind, but are out-done by ſome of their ſcholars. But however we may eſcape the hands of men, how ſhall we eſcape our own conſciences, either trouble of conſcience in this life, or the worm of conſcience in the next? How ſhall we eſcape the hands of the living GOD? How ſhall we eſcape the damnation of hell? 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 6. *Let no man go beyond, or defraud his brother in any matter, for God is the avenger of all ſuch.* He will take their cauſe into his own hands, and render to us according to our cruel and fraudulent dealing with others: *Mat.* xviii. 35. *So likewiſe ſhall my heavenly Father do alſo unto you*, &c. What our Saviour ſaith, *Mat.* xix. 29. that there is no man, that denies himſelf in houſes or lands, *&c.* for CHRIST's ſake and the Goſpel's, but ſhall receive in this life a hundred fold, and in the world to come everlaſting life; is true alſo here. There is no man, that is injurious to his brother, in houſes, or lands, or good name, or any other thing, but ſhall probably receive in this world a hundred fold; however, without repentance, in the world to come everlaſting miſery. In the next world men will find, that they have but impoveriſh'd themſelves by their ill-gotten wealth, and heap'd up

for

for themſelves treaſures of wrath. Read thoſe words, and tremble at them, *Jam.* v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl, for your miſery ſhall come upon you*, &c.

Let us then be perſuaded, as we love God, whom *we have not ſeen*, as we love the Goſpel, which we read and hear every day, and would preſerve the reputation of it; as we would better the world, and the condition of mankind; as we love our ſelves, and our own peace and happineſs; to deal juſtly and equally with all men. Till we come to live by this rule of equity, we can never hope to ſee the world a quiet habitation. But if this were practis'd among us, then *glory would dwell in our land*; *mercy and truth would meet together*; *righteouſneſs and peace would kiſs each other*: *truth would ſpring out of the earth, and righteouſneſs would look down from heaven: yea, the Lord would give that, which is good, and our land would yield her increaſe*; *righteouſneſs would go before him, and ſet us in the way of his ſteps.* Pſal. lxxxv. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

ADDISON (*Joſeph*) mark'd the phraſes of the ſermons publiſh'd by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, as a foundation of an *Engliſh* dictionary projected by him, 362.

ALDRICH (Dr. *Henry*) Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, appointed a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 182. withdraws from it, 188, 192.

ANDREWS (Dr. *Lancelot*) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, introduces a vicious taſte into the pulpit ſeveral years before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, 19, 20.

ATTERBURY (Dr. *Lewis*) his *vindication* of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſermons againſt Popery, 371.

AUSTEN (*John*) anſwers *Tillotſon*'s *Rule of faith*, 35. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

B.

BARBEYRAC (Monſ.) tranſlates Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſermons into *French*, 376.

BARKER (Dr. *Ralph*) preaches the conſecration-ſermon of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 263. publiſhes the poſthumous ſermons of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 370.

BARROW (Dr. *Iſaac*) leaves his manuſcripts to *Tillotſon*, 53. his *Treatiſe of the Pope's ſupremacy* publiſhed, *ibid.* his ſermons publiſhed, 105, 106.

BASSET (Mr.) the ſuppoſed author of *two letters*, and a *vindication* of them, *concerning alterations in the liturgy*, 210.

BATES (Dr. *William*) concern'd in a ſcheme for a comprehenſion, 42. uſes his intereſt with Dr. *Tillotſon* in favour of Biſhop *Crew*, 150. his ſpeech to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, 169. eſteem'd by Dr. *Tillotſon* for his learning and good temper, 403.

BAXTER (*Richard*) concern'd in a treaty for a comprehenſion, 42. character of him by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 419.

BEARDMORE (*John*) his memorials of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 396.

I N D E X.

BERKLEY (Lady *Henrietta*) ſeduc'd by her brother-in-law, *Ford* Lord *Grey*, 96. letter to her from *Tillotſon* on that occaſion, 97. ſome account of her after that misfortune, 99, 100.

BERNARD (Monſ.) his character of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſermons, 375.

BEAUSOBRE (Monſ.) tranſlates Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſermons on repentance into *French*, 377.

BIRCH (Dr. *Peter*) educated a Preſbyterian, affects to diſtinguiſh himſelf for his zeal for the church, 3. made Prebendary of *Weſtminſter* by the intereſt of the Marquis of *Hallifax*, 223.

BLYTHE (Dr.) Maſter of *Clare-Hall*; his teſtimony concerning *Tillotſon*'s behaviour there, 9.

BRADFORD (Biſhop) ſome account of him, 370.

BRAMHALL (Archbiſhop) his manner of receiving ſome *Scots* Preſbyters into the church, 191.

BRIDGEMAN (Sir *Orlando*) Lord-Keeper, propoſes a treaty of comprehenſion, 42.

BRIGHT (Dr. *George*) ſome account of him, 399. Note [d].

BROWNE (Sir *Thomas*) a paſſage in his *Religio Medici* alluded to by *Tillotſon*, 448.

BULL (*George*) Biſhop of *St. David's*; a Prebend of *Gloceſter* procur'd for him by the intereſt of *Tillotſon*, 54. made Biſhop of *St. David's*, 252.

BURNET (Biſhop) ſubmits his manuſcript of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation* to *Tillotſon*, 61. attends upon Lord *Ruſſel* before his Lordſhip's death, 108. & *ſeqq.* made Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, 175. oppoſes the mixing laymen in the commiſſion for a comprehenſion, *ibid.* converſation between him and the Marquis of *Hallifax*, 178. a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 182. his ſhare in the review of the liturgy, 190. the chief manager of the conference with the lower houſe of convocation, 205. vindicated from having a view to the Archbiſhopric, 220. letters to him from Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 288, 290, 331, 335. preaches the funeral of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 344. his account of a ſcheme of the Archbiſhop for a new book of Homilies, 385. & *ſeqq.*

BURNET (Dr. *Thomas*) ſome account of him, 277.

BURTON (Dr. *Hezekiah*) engag'd in a treaty for a comprehenſion, 42. made Rector of *Barnes*, 124. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

C.

CALAMY (Mr. *Edmund*) depriv'd by the act of uniformity of the living of *St. Mary Aldermanbury*, 24. diverted by his wife from taking the Biſhopric of *Litchfield*, 404.

INDEX.

CHADWICKE (*James*) Eſq; married *Mary*, the daughter of Dr. *Tillotſon*, 134 his behaviour approv'd of by the Archbiſhop, 274. his death, 366. his children by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s daughter, 369.

CHILLINGWORTH (Mr.) his work falls into the hands of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 5. Character of it by the Archbiſhop, *ibid.*

CLARKSON (*David*) B. D. tutor to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 4. and 397. his writings and character, 4.

COLET (Dr. *John*) Dean of *St. Paul's*, has one ſermon ſtill extant not contemptible for ſtyle or argument, 19.

COLLINS (*Anthony*) his commendation of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 439.

COMBER (Dr. *Thomas*) dedicates his brief *Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm*, &c. to Dean *Tillotſon*, 49. made Dean of *Durham* by the intereſt of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 393. writes an anſwer to *Great Britain*'s juſt complaint, 394.

COMPREHENSION: Propos'd by the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, and countenanc'd by Lord Chief Baron *Hale*, 42. attempted again after the revolution, 167. hiſtory of the progreſs of that ſcheme, 164. & *ſeqq.* books publiſh'd for and againſt it, 209. & *ſeqq.*

COMPTON (Dr. *Henry*) Biſhop of *London*; ſome account of him, 200. the ſecret cauſe of the oppoſition to the election of *Tillotſon* for prolocutor, and the clamour rais'd, on his account, in the convocation, *ibid.* and 242. diſappointed of the Archbiſhopric, 202. recommends moderation in his ſpeech to the lower houſe of convocation, *ibid.*

CONVOCATION in 1688, proceedings of it, 199. & *ſeqq.*

COSIN (Biſhop) his letter concerning the Archbiſhop of *Spalato* and Biſhop *Overal*, 185.

CRADOCK (Dr. *Zachary*) *Tillotſon*'s *Rule of Faith*, falſely ſaid to have been borrow'd from that divine's diſcourſe, 35. elected Provoſt of *Eton*, 86. ſome account of him, 87.

CRELLIUS (*Samuel*) a deſcendant of the famous Socinian writer, juſtified Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* from bring a Socinian, 442.

CREW (Dr. *Nathaniel*) Biſhop of *Durham*; ſome account of him, 148.

CUDWORTH (Dr. *Ralph*) Maſter of *Chriſt's-College* in *Cambridge*, 6. made Prebendary of *Gloceſter* by the Lord-Chancellor *Finch*, 55. recommends Mr. *Zachary Cradock* to Secretary *Thurloe*, 87.

INDEX.

D.

D'ALBIAC (Monſ.) tranſlates two volumes of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſermons into *French*, 375.

DENTON *(John)* his letter concerning *Tillotſon*'s behaviour at *Clare-Hall*, 10, 11. ſome account of him, 435.

DODWELL, his letter to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 268. remark of *Tillotſon* on his book on *Schiſm*, and his *One prieſthood, one altar*, 418. character of him by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 419.

DONNE (Dr. *John*) Dean of *St. Paul's*; all his wit and learning cannot ſecure his ſermons from univerſal neglect, 20. Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, 25. his character, 26.

DRYDEN *(John)* own'd, that his talent for *Engliſh* proſe was owing to his often reading Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s writings, 361.

E.

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION, 182. proceedings in it, 188.

ECHARD *(Laurence)* his account of the riſe of *Tillotſon*'s intereſt with the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* examin'd, 50. forms a volume of *maxims* out of the writings of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 372.

EDWARDS (Dr. *John*) attacks Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s writings, 360.

EPISCOPIUS *(Simon)* his writings contributed to the forming of ſome of the greateſt *Engliſh* Divines in the laſt age, 239. treats the queſtion concerning the eternity of Hell-torments in the ſame manner with *Tillotſon*, *ibid.*

F.

FELL (Dr. *John*) Biſhop of *Oxford*, his character, 100.

FELTON (Dr. *Henry*) his character of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſtyle, 361.

FINCH (*Heneage*) Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord-Chancellor, devolves the province of inquiring into the characters of thoſe Divines, who were candidates for preferment, upon his Chaplain Dr. *John Sharp*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, 39. gives a Prebend of *Gloceſter* to Mr. *George Bull*, 55. and another to Dr. *Ralph Cudworth*, *ibid.*

FINCH (*Leopold-William*) made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, 222. ſome account of him, *ibid.* Note [e].

FIRMIN (*Thomas*) ſome account of him, 319.

FISHER (Dr. *John*) Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, has a few ſermons extant, not contemptible for their ſtyle or argument, 19.

FOWLER (Dr. *Edward*) Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, a friend of Mr. *Thomas Firmin*, whom he attends at his death, 320. publiſhes a defence of the Latitudinarian divines, 352.

FRANKLAND (*Richard*) a Non-conformiſt, proſecuted for keeping an academy, 294.

FREEMAN (Dr. *Samuel*) character of him by *Tillotſon*, 228. known to King *William*, while Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* account of him, 230.

FRENCH (Dr. *Peter*) Canon of *Chriſt-Church*; his daughter *Elizabeth*, by *Robina*, ſiſter of *Oliver Cromwell*, married to *Tillotſon*, 38.

G.

GATAKER (*Thomas*) preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, 25.

GEDDES (Dr. *Michael*) ſome account of him, 333, 334.

GOUGE (*Thomas*) his funeral ſermon preach'd by *Tillotſon*, 93. his character, *ibid.*

GOURVILLE (Monſ.) his remark upon King *James* II's violent and imprudent zeal for the eſtabliſhment of Popery in *England*, 126.

GREENFIELD (*Thomas*) the immediate predeceſſor of Mr. *Tillotſon* as preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, 26.

GREY (*Ford* Lord) ſeduces his ſiſter-in-law Lady *Henrietta Berkley*, 96. ſome account of him, 99.

GUNNING (Dr. *Peter*) Biſhop of *Ely*, ejected from his Fellowſhip of *Clare-Hall*, 7. procures Mr. *Tillotſon* to be ejected from his Fellowſhip of *Clare-Hall*, 401.

H.

HACKET (Dr. *Thomas*) account of him, 23. depriv'd of his Biſhopric of *Down*, 266, 267.

HALE (Sir *Matthew*) countenances a treaty for a comprehenſion, 42. his death, 47. his character, *ibid.*

HALES (*John*) of *Eton-College*: his ſermons ſcarce ever read by the moſt zealous admirers of his other writings, 20.

HALL (Dr. *Joſeph*) Biſhop of *Exeter*; his ſermons inferior to his other compoſitions, 20.

HALL (Dr. *George*) Biſhop of *Cheſter*, dies of a wound received by a knife in his pocket in a fall, 37.

HALLEY (*Edmund*) account of him, 83, 84.

HARTCLIFFE (*John*) ſome account of him, 260, 261.

HAWKINS (Dr.) Chaplain of the *Tower*, made Dean of *Chicheſter*, 78.

HICKES (Dr. *George*) his *Some Diſcourſes* full of virulence and falſity, 7. attacks the behaviour of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* at the univerſity, *ibid.* his charges confuted, 8. *& ſeqq.* his brother *John Hickes*, a Nonconformiſt Miniſter, executed for being in *Monmouth*'s rebellion, 14. charges *Tillotſon*'s ſermon on *Joſhua* xxiv. 15. with *Hobbiſm*, 62. attacks

attacks Biſhop *Burnet*'s funeral ſermon on Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 344. hopes, that Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s pattern of preaching will not be follow'd, 360.

HILL (Dr. *Thomas*) Maſter of *Trinity-College Cambridge*, 399. and note [b].

HOADLY (Dr. *Benjamin*) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his character and vindication of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 440.

HOBBS (Dr.) letter to him from Dean *Sherlock*, 366.

HODY (Dr. *Humphry*) Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 391: ſome account of him, *ibid.*

HOLDCRAFT (*Thomas*) chamber-fellow of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* at *Clare-Hall*, 4.

HOMILIES, to be conſider'd as a condeſcenſion to the capacities of the common people, 19.

HOOKE (*Robert*) created doctor of phyſic by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 393.

HOOKER (*Richard*) did honour to the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, as a preacher, 19.

HORNECK (Dr. *Anthony*) the pariſh of *Covent-Garden* averſe to him, 227. account of him, 232.

HOWE (*John*) expoſtulates with *Tillotſon* upon ſome paſſages in his ſermon on *Joſhua* xxiv. 15. 65.

HUNT (*Nicholas*) letter to him from *Tillotſon*, 135.

I.

JACOMB (*Samuel*) ſome account of him, 399. note [c].

JAMES I. (King) the pedantry of his court completed the degeneracy of all true eloquence, 20.

JANE (Dr. *William*) appointed of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 182. ſome account of him, 188. withdraws from the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 188, 192. choſen prolocutor of the convocation, 199. the ſuppoſed author of *A Letter to a Friend*, &c. 210.

JEFFREYS (Lord Chancellor) obliges Mr. *Prideaux* to pay him fifteen thouſand pounds for his pardon, 15.

JEFFERY (Dr. *John*) ſome account of him, 326, 327.

JEWEL (Dr. *John*) Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, did honour to the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, as a preacher, 19.

JOHNSON (*Samuel*) writes an anſwer to Dr. *Tillotſon*'s letter to Lord *Ruſſel*, 123. *his* way of peace among *all Proteſtants* publiſh'd and ſeiz'd, 141. ſome account of him, 216. his character, 218. ill treats Dr. *Tillotſon*, *ibid.* and 220. refuſes church preferments, 229.

JORTIN (Mr. *John*) his remarks on the ſermons of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 442.

IRONSIDE (Dr. *Gilbert*) made Biſhop of *Briſtol*, 233. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

INDEX.

K.

KETTLEWELL (*John*) one of the moſt pious and moderate of the Nonjurors, 236.

KIDDER (*Richard*) Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; account of him, 77. a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 182. his ſhare in the review of the liturgy, 190. complain'd of by Monſ. *Le Clerc*, 304.

L.

LATIMER (*Hugh*) Biſhop of *Worceſter*, his character as a preacher, 19.

LATITUDINARIAN, a name given to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* and other great and good men, 351.

LE CLERC defends *Tillotſon*'s ſermon on the eternity of hell-torments, 236. eſteem'd by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 304. his account of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* and his writings, 374.

LESLEY (*Charles*) charges Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* with *Socinianiſm* and *Hobbiſm*, 322, 323, 324. ſome account of him, 324, 325.

LEY (*James*) Earl of *Marlborough*; a contemner of religion, converted to it before his death, 75. note [1].

LIGHTFOOT (*Robert*) defends Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s writings againſt Dr. *John Edwards*, 360.

LIMBORCH (*Philip*) dedicates to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* his *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*, 298.

LOCKE (*John*) remarks, that the Epiſcopal clergy were no friends to the act of toleration and bill of *union*, while they were depending, 176. procures Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* to accept of the dedication of *Limborch*'s *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*, 299. regrets the death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 364.

LONG (*Thomas*) Prebendary of *Exeter*, the ſuppos'd author of *Vox Cleri*, 210.

LOWTH (*Simon*) animadverts upon *Tillotſon*'s ſermon on *Joſhua* XXIV. 15. 64.

LUPTON (Dr. *William*) attacks *Tillotſon*'s ſermon concerning the eternity of hell torments, 237. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

M.

MARY (Queen) letter of her Majeſty to Lady *Ruſſel*, 281. laments the death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 364.

MAURICE (Dr. *Henry*) his *Defence of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy*, 4. Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, 210. the ſuppos'd author of *Juſt Remarks from the Country*, ibid.

MELMOTH (*William*) Eſq; his cenſure of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſtyle and oratory, 362. remarks on that cenſure, *ibid.*

MEW

MEW (Dr. *Peter*) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, appointed of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 181. withdraws from it, 188, 192.
MONRO (Dr. *Alexander*) diſowns his being the author of the *Charge of Socinianiſm againſt Dr.* Tillotſon, 324.
MORE (Dr. *Henry*) Fellow of *Chriſt's-College* in *Cambridge*, 6.
MORE (Dr. *John*) Biſhop of *Norwich*; ſome account of him, 231.
MOUNTAIGNE (*James*) his letter concerning *Tillotſon*'s behaviour at *Clare-Hall*, 11.
MOULIN (Dr. *Lewis*) his character, 32. Note [f].
MULGRAVE (Earl of) his letter to *Tillotſon*, in excuſe for his having ſat in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 146.

N.

NELSON (*Robert*) account of him, 71. letters to him from *Tillotſon*, 73. & *ſeqq.* travels into *France*, 82. offer'd a place at court, 87, 88. marries Lady *Theophila Lucy*, 128. writes a diſcourſe intitled, *Tranſubſtantiation contrary to Scripture*, 130. attends Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* in his laſt illneſs, 343. his letter to Lord Chancellor *Sommers*, 368. zealous for publiſhing a ſermon of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s againſt the Nonjurors, 371.
NELSON (Lady *Theophila*) married to Mr. *Nelſon*, 128. ſeduc'd to Popery, *ibid.* the ſuppos'd author of a *Diſcourſe concerning a Judge of Controverſy*, 129.
NIXON (Mr.) Chaplain to the Earl of *Bath*, made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, 222.

O.

ORANGE (Prince of) his marriage with Princeſs *Mary*, and their voyage to *Holland*, 50, 51.
OVERAL (Biſhop) ſome account of him, 184. declares againſt re-ordination, 185.

P.

PARKER (Dr. *Samuel*) his virulence in his writings againſt the Nonconformiſts, 417.
PATRICK (Dr. *Simon*) his letters to Dr. *Samuel Parker* upon *Tillotſon*'s ſermon on *Joſhua* xxiv. 15. 63. a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 181. his ſhare in the review of the liturgy, 190. declares in his *Friendly debate* againſt a comprehenſion, 213. ſome account of him, 214.
PAYNE (Dr. *William*) the ſuppos'd author of *An anſwer to* Vox Cleri, 210.
PENDLEBURY (*Henry*) a treatiſe of his concerning Tranſubſtantiation publiſh'd by Dr. *Tillotſon*, 378.

I N D E X.

PENN (*William*) ſome account of him, 133. his letters to Dr. *Tillotſon* againſt the imputation of being a Papiſt in diſguiſe, 134.

POOL (*Matthew*) account of him, 36.

PRIDEAUX (*Edmund*) a pupil of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, his caſe and treatment upon a charge of being privy to *Monmouth*'s rebellion, 14, 15.

PRIDEAUX (Dr. *Humphry*) author of *A letter to a friend relating to the preſent Convocation*, 210. loſes all expectation of preferment by the death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 390. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

PRESTON (Viſcount) makes an ample diſcovery of the deſigns in favour of King *James* II, 258. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

R.

RAY (*John*) dedicates his *Three phyſico-theological diſcourſes* to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 441.

ROYSE (Dr. *George*) Chaplain of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 392. ſome account of him, *ibid.*

RUSSEL (Lord) attended upon before his death by Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, 108, & *ſeqq.* his character, 121.

RUSSEL (Lady) her letters written with an uncommon force of ſtyle and ſentiment, 122. her friendſhip with *Tillotſon* cultivated by a frequent correſpondence of letters, 131. letters from her to *Tillotſon*, 226, 244. her eyes couch'd, 329.

RUST (Dr. *George*) Fellow of *Chriſt's-College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Dromore* in *Ireland*, 6.

S.

SANDERSON (Dr. *Robert*) Biſhop of *Lincoln*; his character as a Preacher, 20. not able to commit his ſermons to his memory, 23.

SANDYS (Dr. *Edwin*) Archbiſhop of *York*; his ſermons perhaps ſuperior to any of his contemporaries, 19.

SANCROFT (Archbiſhop) refuſes to ſubmit to the government of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, 154. account of him, 160. projects and promiſes a comprehenſion, 164. letter on his death and character, 316. withdraws the commiſſion given by him for the conſecration of Biſhop *Burnet*, 329, 332.

SARJEANT (*John*) author of *Sure footing*; ſome account of him, 33.

SHARP (Dr. *John*) Archbiſhop of *York*; riſe of his friendſhip with *Tillotſon*, 39. the province of inquiring into the characters of thoſe divines, who were candidates for preferment, devolv'd upon him by the Lord-Chancellor *Finch*, *ibid.*

ibid. appointed of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 181. the Archbiſhopric of *York* procured for him by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 276.

SHERLOCK (Dr. *William*) ſome account of him, 279. letter to Dr. *Hobbs*, 366.

SHREWSBURY (*Charles* Earl of) converted to the Proteſtant religion by *Tillotſon*, 57. letter from that divine to his Lordſhip, 58.

SMITH (Mr. *John*) Fellow of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, a writer of profound ſenſe and learning, 6.

SOCINIANS anſwer Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s ſermons *on the Divinity of Chriſt*, 320. character of their writers by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* and Dr. *South*, 443, 444.

SOMMERS (Lord Chancellor) procures the augmentation of the penſion to Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s widow, 366. patroniſes the Archbiſhop's nephew, 368. letter to him from Mr. *Nelſon*, *ibid.*

SOUTH (Dr. *Robert*) ſpeaks with great ſeverity of the ſcheme of a comprehenſion, 211. his reflection on Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* retorted by the latter, 348. his ſpeech at the opening of the theatre at *Oxford* complain'd of by Dr. *Wallis*, 352. his character of the Socinian writers compar'd with that of *Tillotſon*, 444. cenſure of his manner of preaching by *Tillotſon*, 445.

SPANHEIM (*Frederick*) the younger, ſends Queen *Mary* a MS. treatiſe tending to reconcile the differences between the church of *England* and the Diſſenters, 249, 253. letter to him from *Tillotſon*, 255.

SPRATT (Dr. *Thomas*) Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, his oppoſite characters of Lord *Ruſſel*, 121. appointed of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 181. withdraws from it, 188, 192.

STILLINGFLEET (*Edward*) Biſhop of *Worceſter*; ſome account of him, 34. a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 181. his ſhare in the review of the liturgy, 190. his character by *Tillotſon*, 254, 256.

STRYPE (*John*) ſome account of him, 328.

SWIFT (Dr.) gives Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* the title of *excellent*, 361.

SYDSERF (Dr. *Thomas*) Biſhop of *Galloway*, ordains Mr. *Tillotſon*, 403. ſome account of him, *ibid.* note [e].

T.

TARBOT (Viſcount) his account of the ſtate of *Scotland* in the beginning of the year 169½, 309, 310.

TAYLOR (Dr. *Jeremy*) his character as a preacher, 20.

TENNISON (Dr. *Thomas*) a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 182. his ſhare in the review of the liturgy, 190.

author of *A Diſcourſe concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, 210. his character, 424, 432.
TILLOTSON (*Robert*) nephew of the Archbiſhop, 368.
TILLOTSON (Archbiſhop) his family and birth, 1. thought to be reflected upon by Dr. *Peter Birch*, *ibid.* his baptiſm inconteſtably prov'd, *ibid.* his education at ſchool and at *Clare-Hall* in the univerſity of *Cambridge*, 3. takes the degree of Bachelor and Maſter of arts, and choſen Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, *ibid.* and 401. his conduct at college, 397. *&ſeqq.* his firſt education and impreſſions among the Puritans, 4, and 401. keeps the philoſophy act in 1655, 402. his mind form'd by reading *Chillingworth*, 5. his behaviour at the univerſity inoffenſive, yet attack'd by Dr. *George Hickes*, 7, 8. Dr. *Hickes*'s charges againſt his behaviour there confuted, 8, *&ſeqq.* tutor to the ſon of *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; Attorney-General to *Oliver Cromwell*, 13. does very conſiderable ſervices to his college, 402, 403. preſent at a remarkable ſcene at *Whitehall* ſoon after the death of *Oliver Cromwell*, 16. loſes his Fellowſhip, 401. ordain'd by the Biſhop of *Galloway*, 403. the ſtory of his being Curate to Dr. *Wilkins* in the church of *St. Laurence Jewry* confuted, 17. his firſt ſermon, which appear'd in print, preach'd at the Morning-Exerciſe at *Cripple-Gate*, *ibid.* 453. preſent as an auditor at the conference at the *Savoy*, 18. ſubmits to the act of uniformity, *ibid.* his great improvements in the art of preaching, 18, 19. his manner of ſtudying divinity, 21. joins with Dr. *Wilkins* in the perfecting the ſcheme of a *real character*, *ibid.* never able to commit his ſermons to memory, or to preach extempore, 22. Curate to Dr. *Thomas Hacket*, at *Cheſhunt*, 23. preaches his ſermon on the *Advantages of an early piety* in 1662, 24. choſe Miniſter of *St. Mary Aldermanbury*, but declines the acceptance of that Living, *ibid.* preſented to the Rectory of *Ketton* in *Suffolk*, *ibid.* 405. choſen Preacher of *Lincoln's Inn*, 25. reſigns his Living in *Suffolk*, 26. appointed *Tueſday* Lecturer at *St. Laurence-Jewry*, 27, and 405. preaches before the Lord-Mayor in *March* 166$\frac{3}{4}$, and his ſermon printed, 28, and 408. his zeal againſt irreligion and Popery, 29. reduces many perſons to the communion of the church of *England*, 31, 32. publiſhes his *Rule of faith*, 33. encourages *Pool*'s *Synopſis*, 36. preaches the ſermon at the conſecration of Dr. *Wilkins* to the Biſhopric of *Cheſter*, 37. marries Mrs. *Elizabeth French*, that Biſhop's daughter-in-law, and niece of *Oliver Cromwell*, 38, 369. made Canon, and then Dean of *Canterbury*, and Reſidentiary of *St. Paul's*, 38, 39, 410. riſe of his friendſhip with Mr. *Sharp*, afterwards Archbiſhop of

of *York*, 39. no favourite of King *Charles* II, 40. an anſwer ſuggeſted by him to Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, to be return'd to that King upon his Majeſty's complaint of the Clergy's preaching againſt Popery, 41. his moderation towards the Diſſenters, 31, 42. joins in a treaty for a comprehenſion about *January* 166$\frac{7}{8}$, 42. his letter to Mr. *Baxter* on that ſubject, 43, 44. the account of the riſe of his intereſt with the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* given by Mr. *Echard*, examin'd, 50, & *ſeqq.* publiſhes Dr. *Barrow*'s *Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy*, 53. his letter upon the death of his brother *Joſhua*, 54. ſucceeds in endeavours to ſerve Mr. *George Bull*, afterwards Biſhop of *St. David's*, by procuring him a Prebend of *Gloceſter*, 54, 55. preaches before the Houſe of Commons on the 5th of *November* 1678, 55. converts *Charles* Earl of *Shrewſbury* to the Proteſtant religion, 57. his letter to that Earl, 58. preaches before King *Charles* on the 2d of *April* a ſermon on *Joſhua* xxiv. 15. 61. that ſermon contains ſome exceptionable paſſages, 62. animadverted upon by ſeveral writers, 64, & *ſeqq.* his remark and reflections upon the repentance and death of *John Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, 73, 74. reviſes Dr. *Burnet*'s book on that ſubject, 76. engaged to Mr. *Hezekiah Burton* for the Rectory of *Barnes*, 78. patroniſes *Lewis de Compeigne de Veil*, a learned converted *Jew*, 79. his friendſhip with Mr. *Nelſon*, 80. his regard for Mr. *Edmund Halley*, 83. ſends Mr. *Halley* ſome obſervations, on the comet, of Mr. *Hill* of *Canterbury*, 86. diſſuades Mr. *Nelſon* from purchaſing a place at court, 87, 88. approves of a letter of Monſ. *Claude*, 89. his letter to Sir *Thomas Colepepper*, adviſing him to marry, 91. loſes one of his daughters by death, 93. preaches the funeral ſermon of Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, *ibid.* and 436. contributes fifty pounds to the impreſſion of *Welch* bibles, 94. his remarks on Monſ. *Arnaud*'s *Apologie pour les Catholiques*, 94, 95. thoughts on prayer, 95. his letter to Lady *Henrietta Berkley*, 97. publiſhes Dr. *Barrow*'s ſermons, 105. preaches the funeral ſermon on Dr. *Whichcot*, 107. his attendance upon, and letter to Lord *Ruſſel*, 108, & *ſeqq.* publiſhes Dr. *Hezekiah Burton*'s *Diſcourſes*, 124. publiſhes his *Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation*, 127. and another againſt *Purgatory*, 128. his zeal for the perſecuted *French* Proteſtants, 130. his anſwer to Dr. *Beveridge*, who objected to the reading of a brief for the *French* refugees in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, 131. his letter to Lady *Ruſſel* on the death of her couſin, *ibid.* does juſtice to the character of Mr. *William Penn* the Quaker, 133. his tenderneſs for the Quakers, 134. loſes his only ſurviving daughter *Mary*, *ibid.* ſeiz'd with an apoplectic diſorder, 135.

his

his letter to Mr. *Nicholas Hunt*, 135. preaches before Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* at *Tunbridge*, juſt before the revolution, 140. his letter to Lady *Ruſſel* from *Tunbridge*, *ibid.* ſuppos'd to be employ'd in drawing up the letter ſent by Prince *George* of *Denmark* to King *James* II, 142. preaches before the Prince of *Orange* at *St. James's*, 143. and a Thankſgiving ſermon at *Lincoln's-Inn*, *ibid.* believes, that the Papiſts were concern'd in the fire of *London*, 144. uſes his intereſt in favour of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, 146. and of Dr. *Crew* Biſhop of *Durham*, 150. perſuades the Princeſs of *Denmark* not to oppoſe the ſettlement of the crown on King *William* for life, *ibid.* appointed Clerk of the cloſet to the King, 151. deſires to be excus'd from a Biſhopric, *ibid.* fix'd upon by the King for the See of *Canterbury*, 164. made Dean of *St. Paul's*, *ibid.* deſires the King to leave the deſign of the comprehenſion to an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion to prepare matters for the Convocation, 179. his paper concerning the conceſſions, which he thought would be made by the church of *England*, 180. a member of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 181. his ſhare in the review of the liturgy, 190. deſign'd for Prolocutor of the Convocation, but the election carried for Dr. *Jane*, 199. the King communicates to him his intention of making him Archbiſhop, 219. joint Executor with Dr. *Sharp* of the will of Alderman *Aſke*, 234. his ſermon concerning the eternity of Hell-torments, 235. his letter to Lady *Ruſſel* upon the offer of the Archbiſhopric, 241, 245. his *Latin* letter to Profeſſor *Spanheim*, 255. nominated to the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury*, 262. his *Latin* letter to *All-Souls-College*, 265. his letter to Lady *Coventry*, *ibid.* his letter to the Primate of *Ireland*, 266. attack'd with great virulence by the Nonjuring party, 268. his letter to Mr. *Nelſon* upon his promotion to the Archbiſhopric, 273, 275. procures the Archbiſhopric of *York* for Dr. *John Sharp*, 276. his remarks concerning a public compar'd with a private life, 283, & *ſeqq.* engages Biſhop *Burnet* to draw up his *Paſtoral care*, 288. forms ſome reſolutions with reſpect to himſelf, 293. his letter to Archbiſhop *Sharp*, 296. his letter to Lady *Ruſſel* about his being choſen by the Queen to be Godfather to a ſon of the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, 297. dedication to him of *Limborch*'s *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*, 298. has a great regard for Monſ. *Le Clerc*, 304. his letter to the Earl of *Portland* upon the battle of *Landen*, 306. complains of the manner of drawing up the *Scots* bill of comprehenſion, 307. vindicated from the calumny of having adviſ'd the abolition of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, 308, 309. mollifies the teſt of the *Scots* Miniſters, 311, 312. letters to Lady *Ruſſel*, 313, 314. a pretended compariſon between

tween him and Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, 316, 317. publiſhes his ſermons on the divinity of our Saviour, 318. thoſe ſermons attacked and defended, 320—324. his prayer on occaſion of Lady *Ruſſel*'s being couch'd in her eyes, 329. his zeal for the good of the church, 334. *& ſeqq.* his patience of the ill treatment, which he met with, 340. his letter to Biſhop *Burnet* upon returning the manuſcript of the *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine articles*, 342. his death, 343. his character, 346. *& ſeqq.* 413. *& ſeqq.* his letter to a lady, who ſcrupled kneeling at the Lord's Supper, 353. a ſermon of his not publiſh'd, 370. his ſermons againſt the doctrines of the church of *Rome* attacked by a Popiſh writer, 371. defended by Dr. *Lewis Atterbury*, *ibid.* his ſermons tranſlated in *French*, and *High* and *Low Dutch*, 375. his funeral ſermon on Dr. *John Worthington* never printed, 377. publiſhes a treatiſe of Mr. *Henry Pendlebury* concerning Tranſubſtantiation, 378. plan of a *Latin* ſyſtem of natural and revealed religion intended by him, 379. deſigns a courſe of ſermons upon the chief articles of the Apoſtle's creed, 380. forms a ſcheme for a new book of homilies, 385. his moderation, 416. his remark on Mr. *Dodwell*'s book on *Schiſm*, and his *One prieſthood, one altar*, 418. his character as a Preacher, 424. his notion of Chriſtianity, 426. unjuſtly abuſed, 431. his perſon deſcrib'd, *ibid.* two miſtakes of his in literature corrected, 442, 444. no Socinian, 442. his cenſure of Dr. *South*'s manner of preaching, 445. his citation of a paſſage of *Cicero* defended, 446. his animadverſion on a paſſage in Sir *Thomas Brown*'s *Religio Medici*, 448. his defence of preaching morality, 484.

V.

VIEL (*Charles Marie de Viel*) a learned converted *Jew*, 79, 80.

VIEL (*Lewis de Compeigne de Viel*) a learned converted *Jew*, 79.

VINCENT (Dr.) Senior-fellow of *Clare-Hall*; his teſtimony concerning *Tillotſon*'s behaviour there, 9.

W.

WALKER (*George*) made Biſhop of *London-Derry*, 221. account of him, *ibid.* note [d].

WALLER (*Edmund*) the poet, ſollicits the provoſtſhip of *Eton-College*, 86.

WALLIS (Dr. *John*) complains of Dr. *South*'s ſpeech at the opening of the theatre in *Oxford*, 352.

WATSON (Dr. *Thomas*) Biſhop of *St. David's*, his character, 251.

WHARTON (*Henry*) his manuſcript collections concerning the *Engliſh* Archbiſhops and Biſhops, 15. gives a very odious picture of King *James* II's government, 143. note [f].

INDEX.

WHICHCOT (Dr. *Benjamin*) Provoſt of *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, 6. his funeral ſermon preach'd by *Tillotſon*, 107.
WHISTON (*William*) revives the queſtion concerning the eternity of hell torments, 238
WHITBY (*Daniel*) publiſhes his *Proteſtant Reconciler*, which gives great offence, 103. confutes ſome of the arguments in *Tillotſon*'s ſermon concerning the eternity of hell torments, 236.
WHITEFOOT (*John*) of *Norwich*, writes a diſcourſe on the eternity of hell torments, 236.
WHITGIFT (Dr. *John*) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did honour to the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* as a preacher, 19.
WHITTINGHAM (*William*) holds the Deanry of *Durham*, tho' he had been only ordain'd at *Geneva*, 186.
WILKINS (Dr. *John*) Biſhop of *Cheſter*, his friendſhip with *Tillotſon*, 6. his character, *ibid.* and 405. aſſiſted by *Tillotſon* in his *real character*, 21. conſecrated Biſhop of *Cheſter*, 37. marries *Robina*, ſiſter of *Oliver Cromwell*, 38. dies, 44. leaves his papers to *Tillotſon*, *ibid.* his *Principles of natural Religion* publiſh'd, *ibid.* his ſermons publiſh'd, 100. he is vindicated by *Tillotſon* from the reflections of *Anthony Wood*, *ibid.* 101, 102.
WILLIAM III (King) affected with the death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 364. his eſteem for the Archbiſhop, 365. kindneſs to his widow, *ibid.*
WILLIAMS (Dr. *John*) Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, drew up an account of the proceedings in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 191. character of him by *Tillotſon*, 228. account of him, 231. vindicates Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s *Sermons on the Divinity of our Saviour*, 321.
WILMOT (*John*) Earl of *Rocheſter*; his repentance and death, 72.
WITTON (*Joſhua*) Rector of *Thornhill* in *Yorkſhire*, one of the godfathers of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 2.
WOOD (*Anthony*) his reflections upon Biſhop *Wilkins* anſwered by *Tillotſon*, 100, 101.
WORTHINGTON (Dr. *John*) maſter of *Jeſus-College* in *Cambridge*, 6. his character by Dr. *Tillotſon*, 377.
WOTTON (Dr. *William*) ſome account of him, 332.
WRIGHT (*Abraham*) publiſh'd five ſermons in five ſeveral ſtyles or ways of preaching, 20.
WYNNE (*William*) cenſures a paſſage of *Tillotſon*'s funeral ſermon on Mr. *Gouge*, 436. remarks upon that cenſure, 437.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM